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A CONDENSED HISTORY
OF
MODERN TIMES

BY

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TRANSLATED FROM THE "HISTOIRE GÉNÉRALE"

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NEW YORK
THOMAS Y. CROWELL & COMPANY
PUBLISHERS

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HISTORY OF MODERN TIMES



I

PROGRESS OF ROYALTY IN FRANCE

Principal Divisions of Modern History.—The Middle Ages have been characterized by the predominance of local powers like fiefs and communes, and by the small consideration paid the state. Modern Times until the nineteenth century are characterized by the preponderance of a central power or absolute royalty, and by governmental action substituted for that of individuals and communities. But while the political life of the nations was becoming concentrated in their chiefs, the intellect by an opposite tendency was bursting its bonds and diffusing itself over everything to renew all.

The political revolution will result in the Italian wars and the rivalry through centuries of the houses of France and Austria.

The intellectual movement will cause: a pacific revolution in art, science and letters, or the Renaissance; an economical revolution, or the discovery of the New World and of the route to India, thereby creating a prodigious commerce which will place personal property in the hands of the common people; a religious revolution, or the Reformation of Luther and Calvin, against which fanaticism will excite abominable wars; a philosophic revolution, brought about by Bacon and Descartes and continued in the eighteenth century. The latter will result in a new political and social revolution whose success unhappily will be compromised by blind resistance and criminal violence.

This in its general features is the history of the centuries which compose the period from 1453 to 1848, called Modern

Times. First, then, we have to show how the political institutions of the Middle Ages gave way in the principal states of Europe to a new system of government.

Louis XI (1461-1483). The League of Public Welfare (1465).—Charles VII had reconquered France from the English. He had also to reconquer it from the nobles. The work was already begun. More than one rebellious noble had been drowned or beheaded or banished. The dauphin himself, the son of Charles, who afterwards became Louis XI, had entered into every plot against his father and had been forced to demand a refuge with the Duke of Burgundy. He was with him when Charles VII died (1461). When this former leader of discontent ascended the throne, it was thought that the good old days of feudalism were returning. Such expectation was quickly undeceived. At first Louis bungled. He dismissed most of the officers whom his father had appointed, increased the perpetual villein tax from 1,800,000 livres to 3,000,000, and notified the University of Paris of the papal prohibition to interfere in the affairs of the king and the city. By other acts he offended the parliaments of Paris and Toulouse. He incensed the ecclesiastics and the nobility, and rendered the great dukes of Brittany and Burgundy his enemies. Five hundred princes and nobles formed the League of Public Welfare against him.

The danger was great. Louis met it with little heroism but with much cleverness. After a show of military activity he shut himself behind the walls of his capital and labored to dissolve the League by offering pensions and lands to those greedy nobles. By a variety of public and private arrangements he promised them each whatever each one desired. As for the public welfare, no one spoke or thought of that.

Interview of Péronne (1468).—After the confederates were satisfied and all had returned home, he began systematically to retract everything he had granted. To the Duke of Berri he had ceded Normandy, which it was most important to the king to retain. Inciting insurrections in several Burgundian towns, he thus occupied Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and at the same time purchased the neutrality of the Duke of Brittany by the present of 100,000 crowns. Then he entered Normandy and made himself its master. Meanwhile by seasonable gifts or bribes

of money or office he shrewdly attached to himself some of the most influential persons in France.

Charles the Bold tried to revive the whole feudal system and to make an alliance with Edward IV, king of England. As an English army was preparing to disembark in France, Louis went to the court of Charles to negotiate in person and avert the danger. At that moment a rebellion, which he had previously incited and which he had forgotten to countermand, broke out at Liège. Charles, profoundly incensed, imprisoned his guest in the castle of Péronne. Louis obtained his freedom only by hard concessions and by marching with the duke against Liège. That unhappy city, whose inhabitants fought to the cry of "Long live the king," was given over to sack (1468).

The treaty of Péronne was the last mistake of Louis XI. To his one rival, the Duke of Burgundy, it was the beginning of impossible dreams and enterprises. Louis sent his brother, the Duke of Berri, to the other end of France by giving him Guyenne instead of Champagne. He shut up the cardinal La Balue and the bishop of Verdun for ten years in an iron cage because they had betrayed him. The king of England, allied to the Duke of Burgundy, had a mortal enemy in the Earl of Warwick. Louis reconciled the latter to Margaret of Anjou and furnished him the means of overthrowing Edward IV and restoring Henry VI. Now sure of having isolated Charles the Bold, he convoked at Tours an assembly of notables. He caused this assembly to repudiate the treaty of Péronne. Forthwith he seized Saint Quentin, Montdidier, Amiens and other towns. He set on foot 100,000 men and a powerful artillery (1471).

Death of the Duke of Guyenne (1472).—The rage of Charles was raised to frenzy by the death of the Duke of Guyenne or Berri, upon whom rested the hopes of feudalism (1472). Rumors of poison circulated. Charles the Bold openly accused Louis XI of fratricide, and entered the kingdom dealing everywhere fire and blood. At Nesle the entire population was butchered. The inhabitants of Beauvais resisted with a heroism of which the women and especially Jeanne Hachette set the example. Charles was forced to retrace his steps. Moreover ambition called him in another direction. He signed the truce of Senlis.

Mad Enterprises and Death of Charles the Bold (1477).—The chief attention of the Duke of Burgundy was now di-

rected toward Germany, Lorraine and Switzerland. He wished to unite his two duchies and his possessions in the Netherlands by the acquisition of the intermediate countries, Lorraine and Alsace. That done, he aimed at conquering Provence and Switzerland and restoring old Lotharingia under the name of Belgian Gaul. He already held Upper Alsace and the county of Ferrette, which the Austrian Archduke Sigismund had pawned to him for money, and he was soliciting from the Emperor Frederick III the title of king. Louis XI, by his activity and his money caused the shipwreck of these ambitious plans. The archduke suddenly paid the duke the 80,000 florins agreed upon as the ransom of Alsace. Hagenbach, the agent of Charles in that country, was seized and beheaded by the inhabitants of Brisach (1474). Lastly the Swiss, whom he had molested, entered Franche-Comté and gained over the Burgundians the battle of Héricourt. While these events were taking place in the south, Charles himself in the north was meeting failure in his attempt to support the archbishop of Cologne against the Pope and the Emperor. Edward IV, who had landed in France at his invitation, concluded the treaty of Pecquigny with Louis XI, who loaded him with money and sent him back to his island.

That he might be free to finish his affairs with Lorraine and Switzerland, the duke signed with the king of France a new treaty at Soleure. A few days later he entered Nancy and conquered Lorraine. The Swiss remained to be dealt with. He made a foolish attack and was completely routed at Granson (1476). Three months later he was again defeated at Morat. Then Lorraine rose in favor of René de Vaudemont, and Charles went to his death in battle under the walls of Nancy (1477).

Union of the Great Fiefs with the Crown.— While the mightiest feudal house of France was thus crumbling to ruin on the plains of Lorraine, Louis XI was destroying the others. Many lords were guilty either of plots against the king or of monstrous crimes. Jean V of Armagnac had married his sister and slew whoever opposed him. Besieged and captured in Lectoure, he and his wife were put to death. The Duke of Nemours was beheaded in the market-place. The Duke of Alençon was imprisoned and the constable of Saint Pol also executed. Louis confiscated not only their heads, but their property.

As to the immense possessions left by Charles the Bold, he could obtain only a portion. His disloyal policy forced Mary, the heiress of Burgundy, to marry the Archduke Maximilian. From this marriage, unfortunate for France, arose the enormous power of Charles V, which caused the houses of France and Austria long and bloody struggles. Nevertheless Louis succeeded in incorporating Picardy and part of Burgundy into the royal domain. He even compelled the conditional cession of Franche-Comté. During the preceding year he acquired all the inheritance of the house of Anjou. Thus when he died in 1483 he had rescued from feudalism and added to France, Provence, Maine, Anjou, Roussillon and Cerdagne, Burgundy with the Maçonnais, Charolais, and Auxerrois, Franche-Comté, Artois, half of Picardy, Boulogne, Armagnac, Etampes, Saint Pol and Nemours.

Administration of Louis XI.—He rendered tenure of office permanent, established posts, created the parliaments of Grenoble, Bordeaux and Dijon, enlarged opportunity of appeal to the royal tribunal, assured the public tranquillity and the safety of the highways, multiplied fairs and markets, and attracted from Venice, Genoa and Florence artisans who founded at Tours the first manufactures of silk. He encouraged mining industry and entertained the idea of giving France a common system of weights and measures. He delighted in learned men, founded the Universities of Caen and Besançon and favored the introduction of printing. "Everything considered, he was a king." Villon and his councillor Commynes are the poet and the prose writer of his reign.

Charles VIII (1483).—Charles VIII succeeded, a child of thirteen, feeble in mind and body. His guardian was his eldest sister, Anne of Beaujeu, in shrewdness and decision the worthy daughter of her father. A violent reaction against the late policy made many victims, but the nobles could not overthrow the work of Louis XI. They demanded and obtained the convocation of the States General, but their expectations were disappointed. The deputies, especially those of the Third Estate, would not make themselves the tools of feudal grudges. They reformed some abuses, but left entire power to Anne of Beaujeu, together with guardianship of the king's person, whom they declared of age. This princess continued her father's policy without his cru-

elty. The Duke of Orleans entered into an alliance with the Duke of Brittany and the Archduke Maximilian to overthrow her. He was defeated and captured in what is called the Mad War. The regent won another triumph as to the succession in Brittany. That great fief was almost as formidable as Burgundy. She married its heiress to Charles VIII, and thus paved the way for its union with France. Unfortunately the king broke away from his sister's guardianship in ambition for distant expeditions. Eager to put his dreams into execution, he signed three deplorable treaties. By that of Etaples he continued to Henry VII the pension which his father had paid to Edward IV. By that of Barcelona, he restored Roussillon and Cerdagne to the king of Aragon. Lastly by that of Senlis, still more disastrous, he enabled Maximilian to gain Artois and Franche-Comté. Thus through the folly of her sovereign France receded on three frontiers. It required nearly two centuries and the astuteness of Richelieu and Louis XIV to regain what Charles VIII threw away in pursuit of a dangerous chimera.

II

PROGRESS OF ROYALTY IN ENGLAND. WAR OF THE
ROSES

Houses of Lancaster and York. — England had outstripped Europe in her political institutions. Parliament and the jury system gave the English control of the taxes and trial by their peers, the double guarantee of political and civil liberty. The nobles, united with the commoners, did not allow the kings to abandon themselves to their caprices. Then came a civil war of thirty years' duration, which overrode all these pledges of prosperity and opened to royalty the path of absolutism. This was the War of the Roses, originating in the rivalry of the house of Lancaster, or Red Rose, and the house of York, or White Rose.

The house of Lancaster, seated on the throne by the accession of Henry IV, had given England the glorious Henry V and his successor, the feeble and imbecile Henry VI. Under the latter France was lost, and the national pride of the English was greatly wounded by their reverses. They beheld with indignation the truce of 1444, and were incensed at the marriage of the king with Margaret of Anjou, who as a French princess became the object of their aversion. Richard, Duke of York, thought the moment propitious to assert his claims to the throne. The house of Lancaster descended from the third son of Edward III. The house of York was in the female line descended from the second son, and in the male line from the fourth son. Richard caused the Duke of Suffolk, the king's favorite minister, to be attainted by the House of Commons. The court enabled the accused to escape, but he was overtaken on the high seas by an English vessel, whose crew seized, condemned and beheaded him (1450).

At the same time an Irishman, Jack Cade, stirred up the county of Kent to rebellion. He got together a crowd of 60,000 men, and was master of London for several days. The robberies committed by this mob armed every one

against them, and an amnesty offered by the king brought about their dispersion. Their leader was captured and executed (1459). He was regarded as an agent of the Duke of York.

As the king suffered from a mental trouble, Richard caused himself to be appointed protector (1454). When the monarch on restoration to health tried to take away his powers, he took up arms. He was abetted by the high aristocracy, especially by Warwick, surnamed the king-maker, who was rich enough to feed daily 30,000 persons on his estates. Victorious at Saint Albans (1455), the first battle in that war, and master of the king's person, Richard had Parliament again confer on him the title of protector. After a second battle at Northampton (1460), he was declared legitimate heir to the throne. Margaret protested in the name of her son. Aided by the support of Scotland which she purchased by the cession of Berwick castle, she defeated and slew Richard at Wakefield. The head of the rebel was adorned in derision with a paper crown, and exposed on the walls of York. His youngest son, the Earl of Rutland, aged barely eighteen, was butchered in cold blood. From that time on the massacre of prisoners, the proscription of the vanquished and the confiscation of their goods became the rule with both parties.

Edward IV (1460). — Richard of York was avenged by his eldest son, who had himself proclaimed king in London under the name of Edward IV. The Lancastrians gained the second battle of Saint Albans, but suffered that same year (1461) a sanguinary defeat at Towton, southwest of York. Margaret took refuge in Scotland, and fled thence to France where Louis lent her 2000 soldiers on her promise to restore Calais, but the battle of Hexham destroyed her hopes (1463). She herself was able to regain the continent, but Henry VI, a prisoner for the third time, was confined in the Tower of London, where he remained seven years.

The new king displeased Warwick, who rebelled, defeated him at Nottingham (1470), and forced him to flee to the Netherlands to his brother-in-law, Charles of Burgundy. Parliament, docile to the will of the strongest, reestablished Henry VI.

This triumph of the Lancastrians was brief. Their excesses roused bitter discontent. Edward was able to reappear with a small army, which Charles the Bold had

helped him get together. Warwick fell at Barnet (1471) and Margaret was no more fortunate at Tewksbury. This last action had decisive results. The Prince of Wales murdered, Henry VI dead, Margaret a prisoner, the partisans of the Red Rose killed or exiled, Edward IV remained in peaceable possession of the throne. The rest of his reign was marked by an expedition to France, terminated by the treaty of Pecquigny, and by the trial of his brother Clarence, whom he put to death. He died in consequence of his debauches in 1483.

Richard III (1483). — His brother Richard of York, Duke of Gloucester, took advantage of the youth of Edward's children to usurp their rights, and smother them in the Tower of London. Horror of his crimes divided his followers. The Duke of Buckingham revolted and invited to England Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, the last scion on the female side of the Lancastrian house. Henry hired 2,000 men in Brittany, landed in Wales and at Bosworth overthrew Richard, who fell fighting bravely (1485).

Henry VII. — He united the two Roses by wedding the heiress of York, the daughter of Edward IV. He founded the Tudor dynasty, which reigned until the accession of the Stuarts, 118 years afterward. Though a few plots were formed by such obscure impostors as Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, he ruled as absolute master over the remnants of the decimated aristocracy. Eighty persons of royal blood had perished. Nearly one-fifth of the lands of the kingdom through confiscation had become part of the domains of the crown. Thus when the War of the Roses ended English royalty found increased resources at its disposal and fewer enemies to fear.

Henry VII rarely assembled Parliament. The money which he would not ask for fear of making himself dependent, he procured by forced loans or benevolences, and by confiscations, which he multiplied on every sort of pretext. The Star Chamber became a servile tribunal to strike down those whom a jury would not have permitted him to reach. The ruin of the aristocracy was completed by the abolition of the rights of maintenance, whereby the nobles had been able to rally round them a whole army of followers, and of substitution, whereby the nobles had been prevented from alienating or dividing their lands. By the treaties which he concluded, by the voyages which he caused to be under-

taken and by his attention to the shipping, he favored commerce and industry, to which the nation devoted itself with zeal. He paved the way for the union of Scotland and England by marrying his daughter Margaret to James IV. He died in 1506. Perfidious, rapacious and cruel, without grandeur of mind or action to redeem his vices, he founded like Louis XI in France and Ferdinand the Catholic in Spain an absolute government, which in England became truly great only under Elizabeth.

III

PROGRESS OF ROYALTY IN SPAIN

Abandonment of the Crusade against the Moors.—The Spanish people had thus far remained almost entirely aloof from European affairs. They had been obliged to wrest their soil foot by foot from the Moors. That task, the first condition of their national existence, was not yet finished. The southern extremity of the peninsula still belonged to the Mussulmans and formed the kingdom of Granada, the last of the nine states into which the caliphate of Cordova had been broken. Thus Spain had lived a life apart throughout the Middle Ages. She had been engrossed in the single undertaking of expelling the Moors, odious both as Mussulmans and as foreigners. This isolation and this perpetual crusade gave her a peculiar character. Nowhere else has religion exercised such ascendancy over the mind. It was the sole bond which united the various states of the peninsula.

We have seen however that, forgetting the Moors, the four Christian states had diverted their attention and their forces in different directions: Portugal toward the ocean, Aragon toward Sicily and Italy, Navarre toward France, while Castile was rent by internal discords. Everywhere royalty was in a humiliating position. A spirit of independence reigned in the cities which had their *fueros*, and among the nobles who defended their privileges of war and brigandage. But the need of uniting for mutual protection against violence made itself felt as early as 1260 in the cities of Aragon, and afterward in those of Castile. The Santa Hermandad or Holy Brotherhood, a confederation of the principal cities, was instituted. This organization became so prosperous that it furnished the king at the siege of Granada 8000 armed men and 6000 beasts of burden.

Marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon with Isabella of Castile (1469).—In Aragon John II poisoned his son Charles, Prince of Viana, who disputed his claim to the kingdom of

Navarre (1461). The Catalans, rising in revolt, gave themselves in succession to the king of Castile, to Pedro of Portugal and to the house of Anjou. They submitted only after eleven years of war.

In Castile Henry IV rendered himself odious and despicable by his predilection for Bertrand de la Cueva, a greedy and cowardly favorite who disgraced him. The nobles went through the form of deposing the king in effigy in the plain of Avila, and in his place proclaimed Don Alphonso, who died in 1467. Then they forced Henry IV to recognize as princess of the Asturias his sister Isabella, to the prejudice of his own daughter (1468). From many suitors to her hand Isabella chose Ferdinand, the eldest son of the king of Aragon, and married him secretly at Valladolid (1469). It was stipulated in the contract that the government of Castile should remain vested exclusively in her. She took possession at the death of her father (1474) and strengthened her authority by defeating the king of Portugal, who undertook to dispute her rights. Three years afterward Ferdinand, her husband, became king of Aragon (1479).

Conquest of Granada (1492). — From that day Spain existed. The firm Isabella and the clever though perfidious Ferdinand toiled vigorously to establish national unity for the benefit of royalty. First of all, they rendered the whole peninsula Christian by destroying the last remnants of Musulman domination. Granada had more than 200,000 inhabitants. The Moors were promised after the capture of their city (1492) that they should be allowed to remain in the country and enjoy their own laws, property and religion.

The Inquisition. The Power of Royalty. — The population of the peninsula then presented a singular mixture of Mussulmans, Jews and Christians. Isabella and Ferdinand decided to bring dissenters to a common religious faith by persuasion, and above all by terror. With this intent they had already instituted that tribunal of melancholy fame, the Holy Office or Inquisition. It was established in Castile about 1480, and in Aragon four years later. Between January and November, 1481, in Seville alone the inquisitors sent to torture 298 Christian proselytes, accused of Judaizing in secret, and 2000 in the provinces of Cadiz and Seville. In 1492 they expelled the Jews of whom 800,000 departed from Spain. In 1499 they deprived the Moors of

the religious liberty which the treaty of Granada had guaranteed. Torquemada, the first grand inquisitor, alone condemned 8800 persons to the flames.

The king controlled the terrible tribunal, for he appointed its chief and the property of the condemned was confiscated to his use. Thus the Inquisition was for Spanish royalty not only a means of ruling the conscience but an instrument of government. Any rebellious or suspicious person could be denounced to the Holy Office. This was a mighty engine. Ferdinand acquired another together with considerable revenues by making himself grand master of the orders of Calatrava, Alcantara and Saint James. He reorganized the Holy Brotherhood, announced himself its protector, that is to say its master, and employed it for the police service of the country at the expense of the barons, whose castles he razed to the ground. In a single year forty-six fortresses were demolished in Galicia. Commissioners were sent into all the provinces, who listened to the complaints of the people and made the nobles tremble.

At the death of Isabella (1504) Ferdinand became regent of Castile. As king of Aragon, he acquired the Two Sicilies. The acquisition of Navarre put him in possession of one of the two gates of the Pyrenees. The other, Roussillon, had been ceded to him by Charles VIII (1493). Already Christopher Columbus had given America to the crown of Castile (1492). This immense heritage reverted on his death in 1516 to his grandson Charles, already master of Austria, the Netherlands and Franche-Comté, whose history we shall trace farther on.

In the absence of the new king, Cardinal Ximenes exercised the power with an energy which forced obedience from the nobles. The comuneros, taking alarm too late at the menacing progress of royalty, formed a Holy League, which committed the mistake of demanding the abolition of the pecuniary immunities of the nobility. The aristocracy separated its cause from that of the cities and rallied around the sovereign. The army of the League was routed at Villalar and its leader, Don Juan de Padilla, died on the scaffold (1521). Thus Spanish royalty triumphed over the burgher class as it had triumphed over the nobles, but the nation was about to lose its wealth, its vigor and its honor for the sake of serving the ambition of its masters.

Progress of Royalty in Portugal.—In Portugal the same

revolution was accomplished. John II restored alienated property to the royal domain, withdrew from the lords the right of life and death over their vassals, sent the Duke of Braganza to the scaffold and stabbed the Duke of Viseu with his own hand. He transmitted absolute power to his son Manuel the Fortunate (1495), who during twenty years did not assemble the Cortes. Under the latter prince the Portuguese discovered the road to the Cape of Good Hope and the Indies.

Thus throughout all Western Europe royalty became predominant. This condition indicated the approach of great wars. Because the countries of Central Europe remained divided, they were to become the battlefield of royal ambitions.

IV

GERMANY AND ITALY FROM 1453 TO 1494

Frederick III (1440) and Maximilian (1493).—In Germany the house of Austria had just recovered possession of the imperial crown (1438), to which hardly a shadow of authority was attached. Frederick III was not a man to modify this state of affairs, but was content with bare existence. His reign of fifty-three years is marked only by an unfortunate war against Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, and by the marriage of his son Maximilian to Mary of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Bold and heiress of the Netherlands.

Maximilian endeavored to restore the public peace in Germany. The Diet, which exercised legislative power, prohibited all war between the states. The empire was divided into ten circles, in each of which a military director was charged with maintaining order. This police organization did not succeed, because the German princes had no idea of being checked in their enterprises. They had seized upon the absolute power in their lands, as the kings had done in their kingdoms. The monarchical revolution accomplished in France, England and Spain had also taken place in the empire, but not to the profit of the emperor. In 1502 the seven electors concluded the Electoral Union and decided to convene every year for the purpose of consultation as to the best means of preserving their independence from imperial authority. With another object in view several of the cities had already set up the Hanseatic League. This was the mercantile association of all the cities along the banks of the Rhine and the German coast. It had counting houses in the Netherlands, France, England and even in the heart of Russia, and was prosperous for centuries.

As archduke of Austria and sovereign of the Netherlands, Maximilian acquired by the treaty of Senlis (1493) Artois and Franche-Comté. Then in an erratic manner he

meddled in Italy. The most important event in his reign was the marriage of his son Philip the Fair with Jane the Foolish, daughter of Isabella of Castile and of Ferdinand of Aragon, who brought to the house of Austria as her dowry Spain, Naples and the New World. Maximilian died (1519) during the first throes of the Reformation.

Italy. Republics Replaced by Principalities. — In the middle of the twelfth century Italy was the centre of Mediterranean commerce. She had a skilful agricultural system and well developed manufactures. She was rich, luxurious and corrupt, with a passion for arts and letters but no taste for arms. More divided than Germany, she had not even a nominal head like the emperor, nor a body like the Diet which could sometimes speak in her name. Almost universally the republics had been changed into principalities, whose princes reigned as tyrants or magnificent despots. The capture of Constantinople by the Ottomans caused a momentary panic, and the different states of Italy formed a confederation at Lodi (1454). Men talked of a crusade. Pius II wished "the bell of the Turks" to be rung every morning throughout Christendom. But when the first moment of fright was over, each one went back to his own private interests.

At Milan the condottiere Francesco Sforza, who had succeeded the Visconti in 1450, left the ducal crown to his son, who was assassinated by the nobles (1476). His grandson Giovanni Galeazzo, a child of eight years, fell under the tutelage of his uncle Ludovico il Moro, who for the sake of usurping the power was destined to call in the French and begin the fatal Italian wars. Genoa incessantly disturbed by factions offered itself to Louis XI, who had the wisdom to refuse the fatal gift and transfer it to the Duke of Milan. The Lombards, as the inhabitants of that rich duchy were called, continued to be the bankers of Europe, and their agents were found everywhere in the commercial world.

Venice remained the chief power in northern Italy. No republic could more fully resemble a monarchy. After 1454 its exclusive oligarchy was governed by three state inquisitors, who watched each other and made their own laws. The state existed tranquilly in the lap of pleasure under this strong but pitiless government, whose principal instruments of action were spies and secret accusation. *Provedi-*

tors kept watch of the generals, who were carefully chosen from among the foreign mercenaries or condottieri, so that she might have nothing to fear from them at home. On the continent she had just subjugated four provinces, while the Turks were ruining her domination in the East. She lost Negropont and Scutari and beheld their swift horsemen threaten her lagoons. In order to save their commerce the Venetians consented to pay tribute to the new masters of Constantinople. When they were taunted with this disgrace, they replied, "We are Venetians first of all, Christians afterward." In Italy the wealth of the "Most Serene Republic" excited the covetousness of the neighboring princes, while her recent acquisitions endangered their security. In 1482 they formed a league against her, but she triumphed over the excommunications of the Pope and over the arms of his allies.

At Florence the Medici had supplanted the Albizzi by relying on the Minor Arts, or the middle class. They were rich bankers with many debtors in the city whom they held attached to their fortune. Cosmo de Medici, the head of this house, was master of Florence until 1464 though he bore no title. He caused commerce, manufactures, arts and letters to thrive, and expended more than \$6,000,000 in building palaces, hospitals and libraries, though continuing to live like a private citizen. He was surnamed the "Father of the Country." Liberty no longer existed. The nobles tried to restore it by the conspiracy of the Pazzi (1478), and assassinated Giuliano de Medici at the foot of the altar. Lorenzo, his brother who escaped the dagger, punished the murderers. One of the conspirators, Archbishop Salviati, was hanged in his episcopal robes from a window of his palace. Lorenzo, the most illustrious of the Medici, welcomed the Greek fugitives from Constantinople. He had a translation of Plato made, an edition of Homer published, and encouraged artists and learned men. Ghiberti cast for him the doors of the Baptistery of San Giovanni, which Michael Angelo deemed "worthy to be the gates of Paradise." In 1490, ruined by his magnificence, he was about to suspend payment. To save him the republic became bankrupt herself.

Under Pietro II, his unworthy successor, a new popular party, the frateschi, demanded public liberty. Its leader, the Dominican monk Girolamo Savonarola, wished to restore

to the clergy purity of manners, to the people their ancient institutions, and to letters and the arts the religious sentiment which they had already lost. Beholding the opposition of the young nobles and of the wealthy classes to every reform, he declared that all those gilded vices were about to be chastised by a foreign hand. "O Italy! O Rome! Do penance, for lo, the barbarians are coming like hungry lions!"

The papacy was unable to avert these disasters, because the Holy See was occupied by popes who disgraced the tiara. Thus Sixtus IV busied himself in carving a principality in the Romagna for his nephew, and to attain success had taken part in the conspiracy of the Pazzi. Alexander VI Borgia is the scandal and the sorrow of the Church. His election had been defiled by simony. His pontificate was polluted by debauchery, perfidy and cruelty. He indeed delivered the Holy See from the many turbulent petty lords who infested the neighborhood of Rome, but his weapons for their overthrow were ruse, treason and assassination. His son, Cæsar Borgia, is an infamous example of a man devoured with ambition and destitute of scruples, marching to his goal by any road. To create for himself a state in the Romagna, he waged against the lords of that country the same sort of war that his father had carried on against those of the papal states. No crime troubled him, whether by dagger or poison. More than any other man he contributed to earn for Italy the surname which was then applied to her of the "Poisonous."

At Naples Ferdinand in 1459 had succeeded Alphonso the Magnanimous. He triumphed at Troia over John of Calabria, his Angevine rival, but he seemed desirous of bringing about a new revolution by reviving hatreds instead of effacing them. The harshness of his rule stirred up his barons against him. He deceived them by promises, invited them to a banquet of reconciliation, then had them seized at his very table and put to death. The common people fared no better. Ferdinand claimed the monopoly of all the commerce of the kingdom and crushed the people with taxes. He did not prevent the Ottomans from seizing Otranto and the Venetians from taking Gallipoli and Policastro. The profound contempt which he excited explains how subsequently Charles VIII could drive him from his kingdom of Naples without breaking a lance. All the Italian states from one end of the peninsula to the other were in the same condition.

V

THE OTTOMAN TURKS

(1453-1520)

Powerful Military Organization of the Ottomans. Mohammed II. — The Ottomans were apparently the foe whom Italy had most to dread. By the conquest of Constantinople they had definitely established themselves in the great peninsula which separates the Adriatic and Black Seas. Mohammed II was obeyed from Belgrade on the Danube to the Taurus in Asia Minor. But this mighty empire had two classes of enemies. On the west were the various Christian nations, and on the East the Persian schismatics. These two parties by taking turns at fighting the Ottomans were to keep them within bounds. The one checked their progress on the Tigris, and the other along the lower valley of the Danube.

The Ottoman government was like that of all Asiatic peoples despotism tempered by insurrection and assassination. Nevertheless above the Sultan or Padishah was the Koran, whose interpreters, the Sheik ul Islam and the Oulema, often won the ear of the ruler or of the people. The Turkish armies were then stronger than those of the Christians. Their most effective force consisted of 40,000 janissaries, a regular and permanent troop. The Christians had as yet hardly more than the feudal militia. Moreover the sultan could quickly raise 100,000 men from the timariots, or lands given for life on condition of military service. They thoroughly understood the art of fortification and possessed an unequalled artillery. These efficient means of action were put in play for two centuries by ten successive and energetic princes. Above all account must be taken of the religious fanaticism and martial ardor of a race which also saw its victories fruitful in acquisition of lands and wealth. It is not difficult to explain the rapid progress of the Ottomans.

After making Constantinople his capital, Mohammed II undertook the subjugation of Hungary and Austria. But he was hurled back in 1456 by Hunyadi from the walls of Belgrade. He then attacked the remnants of the Greek Empire and seized Athens, Lesbos, the Morea and Trebizond. Christendom ought to have united in one common effort. Pope Pius II demanded it. But the sovereigns were busy about other things. Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, who was most endangered, and Frederick III, emperor of Germany, were warring against each other. Corvinus did at least force the Turks to a halt on the Danube. But the Albanian Scanderbeg, Prince of Epirus, was their one persistent enemy. During twenty-three years he fought them without repose and gained more than twenty battles. His death in 1468 and the fall of Croia, his capital, delivered Albania into their hands. Two years afterward they wrested Negropont from the Venetians. Also they triumphed over the Tartar Ouzoun Hassan, who had just founded in Persia the dynasty of the White Sheep, and was stirred up against them by Pope Paul II.

Fortunately the Moldavians on the lower Danube, the Albanians and some Greek mountaineers compelled Mohammed II to divide his forces. Although he had sworn to feed his horse with oats on the altar of Saint Peter's in Rome, he could undertake no serious enterprise against Italy. The surprise of Otranto by his fleet was hardly more than a bold and sudden raid by sea (1480). When his horsemen came and burned villages within sight of Venice, that republic took alarm. She sued for peace, ceded Scutari on the coast of the Adriatic and promised an annual tribute. Mohammed II was heading a great expedition, the object of which was known only to himself, when death overtook him in 1481 at the age of fifty-three.

Bayezid II (1481) and Selim I the Ferocious (1512). — His son, Bayezid II, was a scholar rather than a soldier. Moreover he was forced to consult prudence, inasmuch as his brother Zizim after an unsuccessful rebellion had escaped as a fugitive to the Knights of Rhodes. By them he had been delivered into the hands of Pope Alexander VI. As long as Zizim was with the Christians, he was a constant menace to his brother. Yet despite his pacific inclination, it was necessary to keep the janissaries busy and somehow win their favor. So Bayezid sent them to conquer Bosnia,

Croatia and Moldavia on the left bank of the Danube where the Ottomans already possessed Wallachia. The soldiers became discontented with their indolent sultan and placed his son Selim on the throne. At once the movement of conquest resumed its course. The new monarch attacked Persia, beginning the religious war by the massacre of 40,000 Shiite Mussulmans who inhabited his states. A bloody battle near Tauris was indecisive, but he soon subjugated the provinces of Diarbekir, Ourfa and Mossoul, which extended the Turkish Empire as far as the Tigris (1518). Syria belonged to the Mamelukes of Egypt. Selim attacked them. He defeated them at Aleppo, at Gaza and finally on the banks of the Nile, where the Copts and fellahs, downtrodden by the Mamelukes, welcomed him as a liberator. Moutawakkel, caliph of Cairo, confided to him the Standard of the Prophet and resigned the religious authority into his hands. The Arab tribes in their turn submitted. The scherif of Mecca came to offer the conqueror the keys of the Kaaba. Thus the sultan became the Commander of the Faithful, the spiritual as well as the temporal chief of the Mussulmans.

By this conquest the road to the East by way of Egypt was closed to Europeans. This was the death-blow of Venice. Master of the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, Selim also held in its western basin the strong fortress of Algiers, which the pirate Horouk, surnamed Barbarossa, had wrested from Spain and placed under his protection in return for the title of Bey (1518). From that time until 1830 Algiers was a nest of pirates who preyed upon European commerce. Abominable cruelties accompanied the conquests of Selim and earned for him the surname of the Ferocious. He died in 1520 and had for his successor Souleïman the Magnificent, the worthy rival of his illustrious contemporaries Charles V and Francis I.

VI

WARS IN ITALY. CHARLES VIII AND LOUIS XII

Consequences of the Political Revolution in European Wars.

—One general fact had been evolved during the second half of the fifteenth century. It was that society in all the states had reverted to a form of government, lost since the Roman Empire and based upon the absolute power of kings. This is the political side of the revolution in progress. It was to affect the arts, sciences and literatures, and even for a part of Europe the beliefs, at the same time that it modified institutions. The inevitable consequence of this first transformation, which places the peoples with their wealth and forces at the disposal of their sovereigns, will be to imbue the kings with the desire of aggrandizing their dominions. Thus European wars are about to follow feudal wars, just as kings have followed nobles. France, the first ready, is also the first in the endeavor to issue from her frontiers.

Expedition of Charles VIII into Italy (1494).—The prudent Louis XI had been careful not to assert the rights which the house of Anjou had bequeathed him over the kingdom of Naples. His son, Charles VIII, revived these claims with ambitious projects. Not to be hampered in the execution of plans which he thought would carry him from Naples to Constantinople, and from Constantinople to Jerusalem, he abandoned Cerdagne and Roussillon to Ferdinand the Catholic, and Franche-Comté, Charolais and Artois to Maximilian. He crossed the Alps at Mount Ginevra and was well received at Turin and in the duchy of Milan, where Ludovico il Moro then needed his support against the Neapolitans. He forced Pietro de Medici to deliver to him Sarzana and Pietra Santa, the two fortresses of the Apennines, and arrived without encountering any obstacle at Florence, which he entered as a conqueror. But when he demanded a war contribution, the inhabitants threatened a riot and he withdrew, though still holding Pisa and Siena.

At Rome the cardinals and nobles, who had been harshly treated by Alexander VI, opened the gates to the French. The Pope took refuge in the castle of San Angelo. Charles trained his cannon on the ancient fortress and demanded the son of the pontiff, Cæsar Borgia, as hostage. Also he demanded that Zizim, the brother of Sultan Bayezid II, who was then with the Pope, should be surrendered to him, thinking this prisoner would advance his ultimate plans in the East. A few days later the former captive escaped. The latter was given up, but soon afterward died, perhaps from poison. At San Germano, Ferdinand II, king of Naples, wished to fight but his soldiers deserted and Charles entered the capital without breaking a lance (1495). There he had himself crowned King of Naples, Emperor of the East, and King of Jerusalem. He speedily alienated all parties.

While he gave himself up to festivity, in his rear Venice formed a league against him, which included Ludovico il Moro, Pope Alexander VI, Maximilian, Ferdinand the Catholic, and Henry VII of England. Forty thousand men lay in wait for him at the foot of the Apennines. Warned by Commines, he hastily marched northward, leaving in the south 11,000 men. The battle of Fornovo reopened his road to the Alps, but Italy was lost and no fruit remained from this brilliant expedition.

Italy freed from the foreigner returned to her domestic quarrels. Ludovico implored the aid of the Emperor Maximilian, who suffered a ridiculous defeat before Leghorn. In the Romagna civil war continued between the Pope and the barons, in Tuscany between Pisa and Florence, in Florence itself between the partisans and the enemies of Savonarola. The latter perished at the stake (1498), but his death did not restore harmony.

Louis XII (1498). Conquest of Milan and Naples.— Louis XII, grandson of a brother of Charles VI, succeeded his cousin, whose widow he married to prevent her carrying Brittany to another house. He inherited not only the claims of Charles VIII to Naples, but also those of his grandmother, Valentine Visconti, to Milanese territory which had been usurped by the Sforza. Cajoling or bribing the neutrality or support of Cæsar Borgia, Venice and Florence, he sent Trivulcio, an Italian mercenary, to conquer Milan. Ludovico il Moro lost, regained and again lost the city, but was finally betrayed by his troops and was

confined in France in the castle of Loches. Master of Milan, Louis sought to acquire the kingdom of Naples without striking a blow. Therefore he shared it in advance with Ferdinand the Catholic. He reserved for himself the title of King, together with the Abruzzi, Terra di Lavoro, and the capital. Ferdinand asked nothing but Apulia and Calabria. The unfortunate Frederick, king of Naples, finding himself betrayed by the Spaniard Gonsalvo of Cordova, placed himself at the mercy of the king of France, who offered him a retreat on the banks of the Loire. But the conquest made, disputes soon arose between the Spaniards and the French. Perfidious negotiations gave Gonsalvo time to bring up his troops. The French generals were everywhere defeated and their forces again evacuated the kingdom (1504).

To retain at least the Milanese territory, Louis XII signed the disastrous treaty of Blois. His claims to Naples he renounced in favor of Prince Charles, the sovereign of the Netherlands, who was destined to become Charles V of Germany. It was stipulated that Charles should wed Madame Claude, the daughter of the king. The dowry of the bride was to be Burgundy and Brittany. Public opinion cried out against this dangerous marriage, so Louis assembled the States General. They declared that the two provinces were inalienable, and implored the king to betroth his daughter to his presumptive heir, Francis, Duke of Angoulême.

League of Cambrai (1508). The Holy League (1511).— Julius II. succeeded Alexander VI. This warlike Pope undertook to expel from Italy those whom he called barbarians. He also aimed at humbling Venice and at rendering the Holy See the dominating power of the peninsula. First he managed to unite every one against Venice. Louis XII wished to recover from that republic the places formerly acquired from the duchy of Milan. Ferdinand the Catholic claimed from it several maritime cities of the kingdom of Naples. The Emperor Maximilian was desirous of extending his sway in Friuli. All the jealousies and desires coalesced therefore in 1508, at Cambrai.

At Anagdello Louis gained over the Venetians a victory which permitted his allies to fill their hands with Venetian booty. Thereupon the Pope promptly turned this league against his successful confederate, and formed the Holy

League to expel the French from Italy. Setting an example, in person he stormed the cities and entered them through the breach. Louis assembled at Pisa a council to depose him. Julius convoked another council at the Lateran, which excommunicated the king, and drew into alliance all the Catholic powers, even including the Swiss, upon whom Louis was lavishing his money.

Invasion of France (1513). Treaties of Peace (1514).— At first France was victorious, thanks to the talents of the youthful Gaston de Foix, who drove the Swiss back to their mountains, captured Brescia from the Venetians and defeated all the allies at Ravenna. But he was slain in that last battle. Under his successor, La Palisse, the French retreated to the Alps. Maximilian Sforza, the son of Ludovico il Moro, reëntered Milan. Then France was invaded from three sides. Ferdinand the Catholic threatened French Navarre. The English and Germans routed the French cavalry at the battle of Spurs. Lastly, the Swiss penetrated as far as Dijon, and their withdrawal was purchased by payment in gold. The only ally of France was James IV, king of Scotland. He shared her evil fortune and was defeated and slain at Flodden Field by the English. Louis begged a truce from his enemies. He disavowed the council of Pisa, and persuaded Henry VIII to return to his island, promising a pension of 100,000 crowns for ten years. Thus, after fifteen years of war, after immense loss of blood and money, France was no farther advanced than when the reign of Charles VIII began. Louis died on January 1, 1515. His domestic administration had been superior to his foreign policy. He created two parliaments, one in Provence and another in Normandy, suppressed the use of Latin in criminal procedure, stopped pillage by soldiers, and caused commerce and agriculture to thrive. So he has been surnamed the Father of his People.

VII

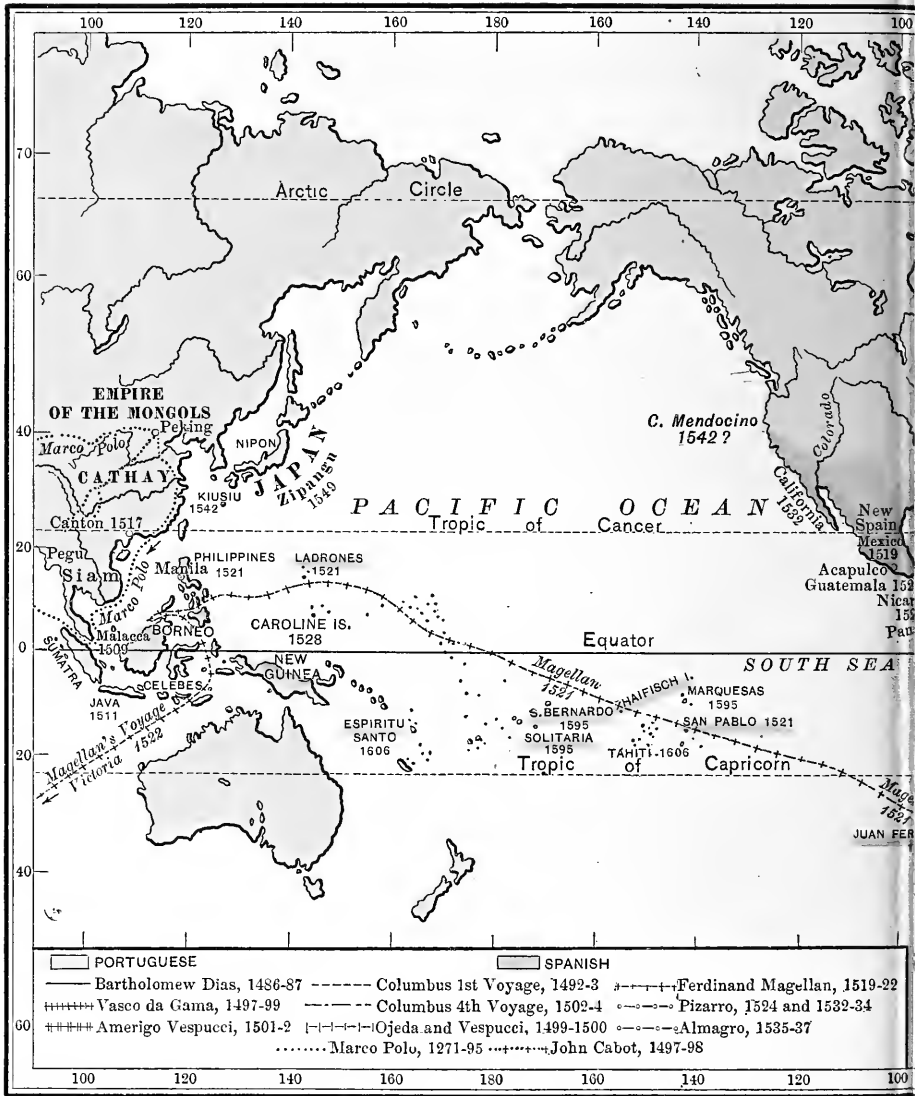
THE ECONOMICAL REVOLUTION

Discovery of the Cape of Good Hope (1497). — The end of the Middle Ages is marked, not only by the destruction of hitherto prevalent political forms, but also by the simultaneous revolution in commercial affairs, consequent upon the discovery of America and of the passage to the Indies around the Cape of Good Hope.

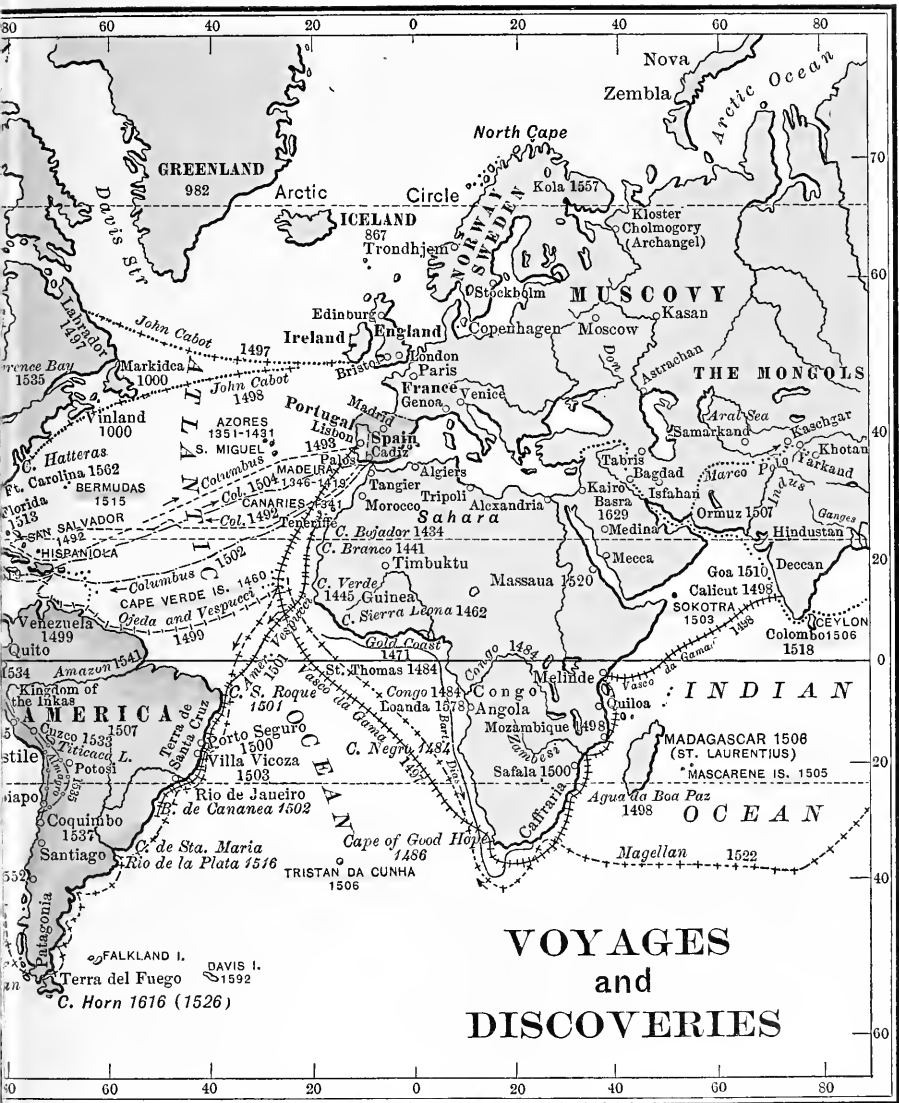
Up to that time, commerce had followed the routes marked out by the Greeks and the Romans. The products of the East reached Europe by the Red Sea and Egypt, or through Persia and the Black Sea. But the peoples who bordered on the Atlantic had long been turning their gaze toward the mysterious expanse of its unknown waters. They had become familiar with its tempests and had gained confidence in the compass. The Normans had been the first to enter upon the path of maritime discoveries along the western coast of Africa. There the Portuguese, more advantageously situated, followed and outstripped them. In 1472 they crossed the equator. In 1486 Bartolomeo Diaz discovered the Cape of Storms, which King John II more wisely named the Cape of Good Hope. In fact, Vasco da Gama soon sailed round the African continent and reached Calicut on the Malabar coast (1498). Later on Camoens in his *Lusiad* painted this heroic expedition. At Calicut Alvarez Cabral founded the first European establishment in the Indies. On the way thither he had been cast upon the coast of Brazil.

Colonial Empire of the Portuguese. — The true creator of the Portuguese colonies was Albuquerque. By the capture of Socotora and Ormuz, he closed the ancient routes of Indian commerce to the Mussulmans and to Venice. He gave to Portuguese India its capital by taking possession of Goa (1510). He conquered Malacca and secured the alliance of the kings of Siam and Pegu and the possession of the Molucca Islands. While preparing one expedition

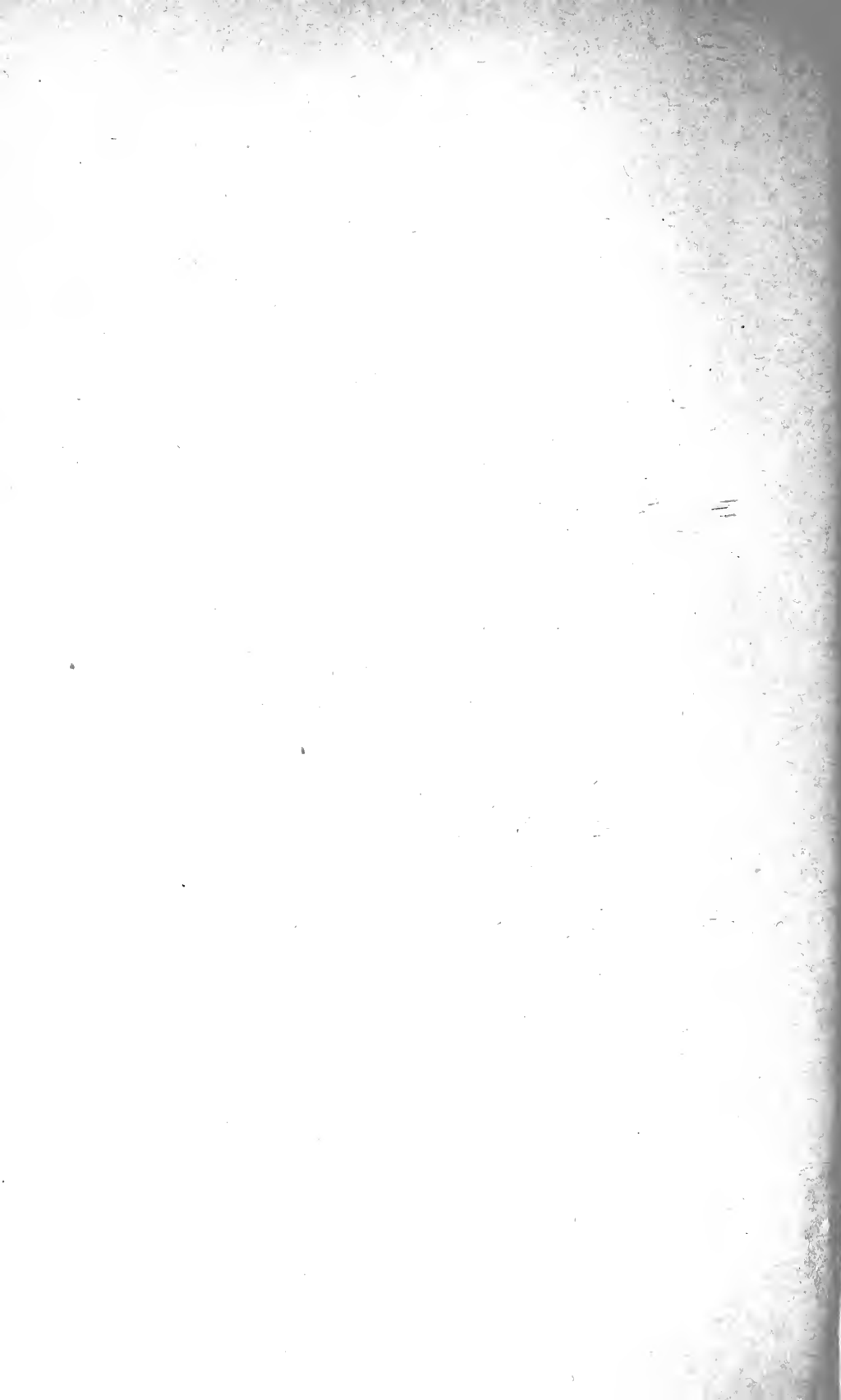




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against Egypt and another against Arabia, where he wished to destroy Mecca and Medina, he was arrested by an unmerited disgrace (1515). The conquest continued under John de Castro, who seized Cambaye. Japan was discovered in 1542, and a trading station set up opposite Canton in the island of Sanciam. Goa was the centre of Portuguese domination. The other principal points in their empire were Mozambique, Sofala and Melinda on the African coast, whence they obtained gold-dust and ivory; Muscat and Ormuz, on the Persian Gulf, whither came the products of Central Asia; Diu, on the coast of Malabar; Negapatam, on that of Coromandel; Malacca, in the peninsula of the same name, which threw into their hands the commerce of the countries of Indo-China; and the Moluccas, where they occupied Ternate and Timor, and whence they exported spices. Their trading stations on the western coast of Africa and on the Congo were of no importance until after the establishment of the slave trade. For a long time, the only colonists whom Brazil received were criminals and deported Jews.

Christopher Columbus. Colonial Empire of the Spaniards.

—The discovery of America had taken place earlier, in 1492. The Genoese navigator, Christopher Columbus, engrossed with the idea that India must extend far toward the west as a counterbalance to the European continent, hoped to reach its furthest shore by directing his course westward across the Atlantic. Rebuffed as a visionary by the Senate of Genoa and by the king of Portugal, as well as for a time by the court of Spain, he succeeded in obtaining from Isabella three small vessels. After sailing for two months he landed on October 11, 1492, in Guanahani, one of the Lucaya Islands, which he named San Salvador. Only during his third voyage in 1498 did he touch the continent, without knowing it, and on the fourth in 1502 discovered the coast of Columbia. He still believed that he had reached the shores of India. Hence was derived the name, West Indies, which long prevailed. The name America refers to Amerigo Vespucci, who merely enjoyed the inferior distinction of landing on the mainland before Columbus.

The route once found, discoveries followed each other in rapid succession. In 1513 Balboa traversed the Isthmus of Panama and caught sight of the Great Ocean. In 1518 Grijalva discovered Mexico, of which Fernando Cortés effected

the conquest (1519-1521). In 1520 Magellan reached the strait to which his name has been given between South America and Tierra del Fuego. He traversed the Pacific Ocean, where he died, and his comrades returned to Spain by way of the Moluccas and the Cape of Good Hope. They were the first to make the circuit of the globe. The adventurers, Almagro and Pizarro, gave to the crown of Spain Peru and Chili. Others founded on the opposite coast Buenos Ayres, at the mouth of the Plata. In 1534 Cartier discovered Canada for France.

The Portuguese colonies rapidly declined. They were only a line of trading posts along the coasts of Africa and Hindustan, without power of resistance, because few Portuguese settled there. The Spanish colonies, which in the beginning aimed not so much at commerce as at the development of the mines, attracted on the contrary many Spaniards to the New World, and formed in America a compact domination, divided into the two governments of Mexico and Lima. At the present day Mexico and South America are dominated by Spanish blood, while Brazil is Portuguese.

Results. — These discoveries threw open to the industrious activity of the men of the West both a New World and also that East where so much idle wealth was locked up. They changed the course and form of trade. For land commerce, which hitherto had held first rank, maritime commerce was about to be substituted. As a result the cities of the interior were to decline and those on the coast to expand. Moreover commercial importance passed from the countries bathed by the Mediterranean to the countries situated on the Atlantic, from the Italians to the Spaniards and the Portuguese, and later on from these latter to the Dutch and the English. Not only did these peoples grow rich, but they were enriched in a peculiar manner. The mines of Mexico and Peru threw into European circulation an enormous mass of specie. Industry, commerce and agriculture developed on receiving the capital which they required in order to thrive. "The third part of the kingdom of France," says a writer of the sixteenth century, "was put under cultivation in the course of a few years." All this created a new power in personal wealth which fell into the hands of the burgher class, and which in after centuries was to battle with the landed wealth still remaining in the hands of the lords.

By means of the posting stations which Louis XI had organized, and the canals with locks which Venice began to construct in 1481, communication became more rapid and more easy. When to the letters of exchange, devised by the Jews in the Middle Ages for the purpose of saving their fortunes from their persecutors, were added the deposit and credit banks, instituted by the Hanse, the Lombards and the Tuscans, it came to pass that capital circulated as easily as produce. We have already seen a banker, Cosmo de Medici, become a prince. Lastly, the system of insurance, practised first at Barcelona and Florence, and later on at Bruges, began the great system of guarantees which at the present day gives to commerce such audacity and security. Thus labor was making for itself a place in the new society. Through it, by means of order, economy and intelligence, the descendants of the slaves of antiquity and of the serfs of the Middle Ages became the leaders of the industrial world and masters of money, and were one day to find themselves the equals of the ancient masters of the land.

VIII

THE REVOLUTION IN ARTS AND LETTERS, OR THE
RENAISSANCE

The Invention of Printing.—The ardor which impelled men of action to abandon beaten paths and rush into unexplored ways was shared by men of learning. They also aspired after another world. They sought it, not in front but in the rear. Like Columbus, they thought they were only travelling toward the old land, but on their route thither they, like him, found a new one.

Weary of the vain disputes of scholasticism and the quibbles of a school which its barbarous Latin speech rendered obscure, they threw themselves toward the half-extinguished lights of antiquity. They ransacked monastic libraries, those storehouses of old books. The discovery of a Greek or Latin manuscript, or of an antique statue, caused the joy of a victory. But only a few men would have profited by the new spirit, which reviving antiquity was breathing upon the world, had not an invention appeared by means of which the treasures, otherwise reserved to a small number, could become the domain of all. Guttenberg created printing by devising movable characters. As early as 1455, the first printed book made its appearance. This was a Bible. The new art spread rapidly throughout all Christian Europe, and the price of books marvellously decreased. In 1500 Aldus Manutius at Venice placed on sale a whole collection of ancient authors at about fifty cents the volume. A single bookseller of Paris, Josse Bade, published as many as 400 works, the majority in folio. In 1529, the *Colloquia* of Erasmus was printed in an edition of 24,000 copies. Thus eager were people to learn, "for they began to perceive that they had been living in mental slavery as well as in bodily servitude."

The ancients wrote upon parchment or papyrus, both materials of great cost, the Chinese upon silk, the Arabs of Damascus upon cotton, the Spanish Arabs upon a paper

made from flax and hemp. Thus the printers, at the very beginning of their labors, had at their disposal a low-priced product which could receive the imprint of the characters.

Renaissance of Letters. — Italy eagerly seized upon the new invention. Before the year 1470, there were already printers at Rome, Venice and Milan. Everywhere schools, libraries and universities were founded. The ancient authors were published and translated. Not only the Fathers of the Church were published to uphold the faith, but also the orators, historians and philosophers. Thereby faith was exposed to peril, for thus were opened to the mind new horizons where reason was to seek and find its domain. Pope Julius II was not always surrounded by captains and diplomats. Quite as many learned men and artists were to be seen at his side. "Polite letters," he said, "are the silver of plebeians, the gold of nobles, the diamonds of princes." The day on which the Laocoon was discovered in the Baths of Titus, he caused the bells of all the churches in Rome to be rung. Leo X paid 500 sequins for five books in manuscript of Titus Livius, and was the friend as well as the patron of Raphael and Michael Angelo.

At that period only three countries thought and produced. Italy was foremost with Ariosto, Machiavelli, Guicciardini and all her artistic geniuses. France came second, with Marot, Rabelais, Calvin, Amyot, Montaigne and a host of learned men or jurisconsults whose fame still endures, like Cujas, Pithou, Godefroy and Dumoulin. Germany stood third, with Ulric von Hutten, the cobbler-poet Hans Sachs and the Ciceronians, with Luther and his Latin writings at the head. The Netherlands presented Erasmus, a hardy thinker but timid-hearted man, whose Latin works enjoyed an immense success. As for England, she was healing the wounds inflicted by the War of the Roses. As for Spain, her eyes were turned far less upon antiquity than toward America and her mines, toward Italy and the Netherlands, where the bands of Charles V so loved to indulge in war and pillage.

Renaissance of Arts. — Italy was their natural cradle, since there the finest remains of ancient art were to be found. As early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, Brunelleschi substituted the rounded for the pointed arch, and for the tortured lines of the florid Gothic, the straight line of the Greek temples or the elegant curve of the Roman dome. For

Julius II Bramante constructed Saint Peter's at Rome, which Michael Angelo crowned with the immense cupola, the idea of which he had derived from the Pantheon of Agrippa. The sculptors of Florence and Rome were unable to excel their classic rivals, but Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Raphael and Titian far surpassed their most illustrious predecessors and created painting, which with music has remained the distinctive modern art.

In the field of the arts, Italy in the sixteenth century was the teacher of the nations. France followed her close behind. Her architects reared many chateaux and palaces, the Louvre, the Tuileries, Fontainebleau, Blois and Chambord, where elegance and grace are blended with strength. Two French sculptors are still famous, Jean Goujon and Germain Pilon. Germany had but two painters, Albert Dürer and Holbein. Engraving, recently invented, multiplied the masterpieces of the artists, just as printing had popularized masterpieces in literature, and Palestrina began the great school of music.

Renaissance in Science.— Science was still hesitating between the dreams of the Middle Ages and the stern reason which guides it at the present day. Men did not know that the physical world is subject to changeless laws. They continued to believe in capricious powers, in magicians and sorcerers, whom they burned by thousands. At Würzburg 158 persons were sent to the stake in the course of two years (1527-1528). But Italy had several geometers, and as early as 1507 the Pole, Copernicus, discovered the truth concerning the planetary system.

Thus, while the navigators were opening new worlds to human activity and through artists and learned men modern genius was acquiring fresh vigor from the ancients, science was assigning its place to the sun and to the earth and the planets their parts in the universe. Is it a marvel that the century which beheld these mighty results of audacity and intelligence should have abandoned itself to the resistless power of thought?

IX

THE REVOLUTION IN CREEDS, OR THE REFORMATION

The Clergy in the Sixteenth Century.— By its reverence for the two antiquities, the sacred and profane, which had just been as it were rediscovered, the literature of the sixteenth century led to the religious Reformation, whose true character was a mixture of the reasoning spirit borrowed from the pagans, and of theological ardor derived from the Bible and the Fathers. The prime author of this revolution was the clergy itself. What was there in common between the Church of the early days, poor, humble, ardent, and the opulent, lordly, indolent Church of Leo X, who lived like a gentleman of the Renaissance, with huntsmen, artists and poets, rather than with theologians? And of those bishop-princes who had armies, and of those monks who were so vicious and so ignorant, what was not said? For a long time the most devout had been demanding the reform of the Church in its head and its members. "I see," said Cardinal Julian to Pope Eugenius IV, "that the axe is laid to the root; the tree leans, and instead of propping it up, we are hurling it to the earth." Bossuet himself recognized the necessity of a reform.

Luther (1517).— The strife began with the pamphlets of Erasmus and Hutten. It became serious only when Luther had drawn the theologians after him into the lists. This son of a Saxon miner of Eisleben was an Augustinian monk. He became the most esteemed doctor of the University of Wittenberg. During a journey to Rome he beheld the disorders of the Church. The scandal of indulgences, whence Leo X sought money for the completion of Saint Peter's, led him to examine the very principles of this doctrine. Finding the system of indulgences contrary to the teachings of the primitive Church, he fought against it. The Dominican Tetzel was the broker of these spiritual wares in Germany. Luther nailed to the doors of the church in Wittenberg ninety-five propositions concerning

indulgences. Tetzel replied by 110 counter propositions. The battle had begun.

At first Leo X would see in it nothing but a quarrel between monks and sent to Germany the legate Cajetano to bring them to their senses. Luther appealed from the legate to the Pope, then from the Pope to a future council. Finally, rejecting even the authority of councils, or of all human utterances as opposed to the Word of God, as set forth in the Gospels and as he understood it, he admitted no other law for the believer than the very text of Scripture.

Thus Luther "plunged into schism." The Roman Catholic faith was nourished from the two sources of Scripture and tradition. He denied the latter source. Retaining the former, he admitted no mediator between him and the sacred text to interpret the latter and solve its difficulties. He beheld in the Scriptures neither the authority of the Pope, nor sacraments, nor monastic vows. Hence he rejected them. The Church on becoming organized had taught that even a society of believers is impossible unless its members think that they are bound to add to the merits of their faith those of their works. Luther, an ardent monk, and a theologian reared in the spirit of Saint Paul and Saint Augustine, did not hesitate before the formidable problem of grace. In his book *On Christian Liberty*, addressed to the Pope in 1520, he immolated the free will of man, and grace became the essential principle of faith. Calvin hence deduced later the doctrine of predestination. Leo X excommunicated the bold innovator, who nevertheless was simply looking backward, and returning to the apostolic age. Luther returning blow for blow publicly burned the papal bull (1520). He was protected by the Elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise. When Charles V in order to win over the Catholics cited him to appear before the Diet of Worms, he boldly presented himself. He was so well defended that the Church did not dare seize him as it had formerly seized John Huss and send him to the stake. The elector prudently had him carried off and kept under guard at the Castle of the Wartburg, whence Luther stirred up all Germany by his pamphlets.

As a matter of fact, the reformer was serving well the interests of the princes. He restored to their hands the direction of religious affairs. The secularization of church property tempted their greed. In 1525 the Grand Master of

the Teutonic Order declared himself the Hereditary Duke of Prussia. Already the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the Dukes of Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and Zell, and a great number of imperial cities, had embraced the Reformation and at the same time seized the ecclesiastical domains situated in their territories.

The people wished to have its share in this immense booty. In Suabia and Thuringia the peasants rose, not to hasten the reform in the Church, but to accomplish that of society, wherein they meant to establish absolute equality and community of goods. Luther himself preached against them a war of extermination and those wretched persons perished by thousands (1525).

This savage demagoguery, which appeared again with the Anabaptists of Munster, frightened every one, but especially the Catholics. The Diet of Spires forbade the propagation of the new doctrines (1529). The followers of the Reformation protested against this decree in the name of liberty of conscience, and hence received the name of Protestants. In the following year, they published at Augsburg a confession of their belief which has remained the creed and the bond of all Luther's followers (1530).

Thanks to Francis I and to Souleïman, the emperor was occupied in defending himself on all his frontiers. He shrank from creating for himself a new enemy in the heart of the empire by attacking the Reformers. He avoided such risk until after the battle of Crespy and the death of the king of France. The victory of Mühlberg (1547) seemed to place Germany at his discretion. In order to impose religious peace he promulgated the Interim at Augsburg, which displeased both parties and reduced the German princes to the powerlessness of French or English nobles. The supreme power of Charles V was overthrown by the alliance of the Protestants with the king of France, Henry II. Maurice of Saxony came near capturing the emperor at Innsbruck (1551), and the peace of Augsburg granted the Reformers entire liberty of conscience (1555).

The Lutheran Reformation in the Scandinavian States. — At that period the new doctrines had already triumphed through almost all Northern Europe. Gustavus Vasa, who had delivered Sweden from the Danish domination, welcomed them as a means of humbling the episcopal aristocracy and of raising himself to absolute power.

In Denmark on the contrary the revolution was effected in the interests of the secular aristocracy, which suppressed the States General, held royalty in tutelage for 120 years and bowed the people under a harsh subjection:

The Reformation in Switzerland. Zwingli (1517). Calvin (1536). — In Switzerland the Reformation was born as early as in Germany. In 1517 Zwingli declared that the Gospel was the only rule of faith. The evangelical religion spread in German Switzerland, except in the original cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden, which remained faithful to the ancient faith. The war, which broke out in 1531, and in which Zwingli perished, was favorable to the Catholics. Each canton still remained sovereign as to regulating its worship, but the evangelical doctrine was expelled from the common possessions. This was a defeat for Protestantism. On the other hand, it acquired Geneva, which had long been discontented with its bishop, its temporal sovereign, and was divided between the so-called parties of the Mamelukes and the Huguenots. Thanks to the support of Berne, the Huguenot party carried the day and maintained the independence of the city against Savoy (1536).

At this juncture Calvin arrived. He was a Frenchman from Noyon, who had just published a remarkable book, *The Christian Institutes*, wherein he condemned everything which did not seem to him prescribed by the Gospel, while Luther, less audacious, allowed everything to subsist which did not appear to him positively contrary to it. His eloquence, the austerity of his life and his radical doctrines gave him in Geneva an authority which he used to convert that joyous city into a sombre cloister, where every frivolous word or deed was punished as a crime. A poet was beheaded for his verses. Michael Servetus was burned for having thought otherwise concerning the Trinity than did the spiritual director. But none the less, Geneva became the citadel, and as it were the sanctuary of the Calvinistic Reformation.

The Reformation in the Netherlands, France, Scotland and England. — The seventeen provinces of the Low Countries formed a federated state under the direction of an Austrian or a Spanish governor. Each had its own constitution and its assembly. These free institutions, the independent spirit of the population and its nearness to Germany favored the propagation in that country of Luther's Reformation. Charles V stifled it by the horrors of a spe-

cial inquisition, which punished with death more than 30,000 persons. But Lutheranism gave way to Calvinism, which had come from Switzerland by way of Alsace, or from England, during the reign of Edward VI, and which spread rapidly throughout the Dutch provinces.

Protestantism was not established in France until comparatively late. The Sorbonne refuted the new doctrines and the law suppressed them by force. Moreover there had been fewer abuses among the Gallican clergy, as they had possessed little wealth or power. Though many provincial nobles regretted the domains formerly ceded to the Church by their fathers, though more independent doctrines gratified their feudal inclinations, and though desires for political enfranchisement were mingled with desires for religious liberty, yet the inhabitants of the great cities remained strongly Catholic. In France a foothold was gained, not by Lutheranism, but by Calvinism. Francis I, who supported the Protestants in Germany, did not tolerate them in his own kingdom. He had the Lutherans burned before his eyes and approved the horrible massacre of the Vaudois. Henry II, by the edict of Chateaubriand, decreed the same death penalty against heretics. He even had two magistrates, suspected of heresy, arrested in open Parliament; and one of them, Anne Dubourg, was burned at the stake. Persecution was destined, as always, to bring about plots and a frightful struggle.

It was Calvinism which won the day in Scotland. Marie of Guise, the widow of James V, left the management of affairs to Cardinal Beaton, who defended Catholicism by extremely rigorous measures, but was assassinated (1546). The Reformation took possession of all Scotland, where Knox, who was summoned from Geneva, established the Presbyterian system.

In England the Reformation was not the work of the people, but of a despot, who found the country disposed for this revolution by the memories of Wicliffe and the Lollards. Being smitten with Anne Boleyn, Henry VIII asked Pope Clement VII to dissolve his marriage with Catherine of Aragon. As the pontiff hesitated, he made his own Parliament pronounce the divorce. On being excommunicated, he proclaimed himself the head of the Anglican Church (1534), suppressed the monastic orders, and confiscated the property of the convents (1539). Though

Henry VIII separated himself from the Holy See, he claimed that he remained orthodox. He retained the title of Defender of the Faith, which the Pope had bestowed upon him for writing a book against Luther. Without discrimination, he punished with death the man who denied the Real Presence in the Eucharist, and the man who denied the religious supremacy of the king. Very many sentences of death were pronounced. Spoliation followed murder. The nation, which through love of repose had abandoned its political liberty after the War of the Roses, beheld its money, its blood, its very beliefs, sacrificed to a tyrant. But by publishing an English translation of the sacred Scriptures, Henry unwittingly favored the spirit of investigation, which caused many sects to spring forth in England and paved the way for the revolution of 1648. Under Edward VI this "beheaded Catholicism," as the Reformation of Henry VIII was called, gave way to Protestantism pure and simple (1547).

A Catholic reaction set in after the death of the latter prince (1553). Earl Warwick placed upon the throne Lady Jane Grey. Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII, caused this ten days' queen to be beheaded, then married Philip II, king of Spain, and reconciled England with the Holy See. This restoration was marked by numerous executions. Between February, 1555, and September, 1558, 400 reformers perished, 290 of whom were burned at the stake. Drawn by Philip into the war against France, Mary lost Calais, and only survived this disaster by a few months (1558). She often said that if her body were opened, the word Calais would be found written upon her heart. The Anglican Church, as it exists to-day, was finally constituted in 1562 by Queen Elizabeth, the successor of Mary.

Character of the Three Reformed Churches.—Thus in less than half a century, Switzerland, Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark, half of Germany and a part of France had separated themselves from Catholicism. As the principle of reform was free examination, it had already produced many sects, whose number was destined to be still further increased. However, three great systems were dominant: Lutheranism in the north of Germany and the Scandinavian States; Calvinism in Switzerland, France, the Netherlands and Scotland; and Anglicanism in England. Their common dogma was justification.

Of the three systems, Calvinism differed most from Roman Catholicism. It regarded the Lord's Supper as a simple, commemorative rite. The Lutherans admitted the Real Presence, but not transubstantiation. The Anglicans were Calvinistic in dogma, and Roman Catholic in liturgy. Their Church, with its archbishops, bishops, and its numerous revenues, differed from the Catholic Church mainly in the simplicity of costume, in the cold austerity of its worship, in the employment of the vernacular language, and in the marriage of its priests. Subject to royal supremacy, its existence was intimately bound up with the maintenance of the monarchy; and the clergy in England was, as it has been in the Catholic countries, the firmest support of royalty. The Presbyterian Church of Scotland was democratic, like all Calvinistic churches, and its clergy were equal. Puritans were later to declare every Christian a priest, if he has the inspiration. The Lutheran countries retained the episcopal form. Their bishops had neither wealth nor liberty, as the prince had inherited nearly all the spiritual power which had been wrested from the Pope, and drew up the creeds. "Luther," said Melancthon, "has placed on our heads a yoke of iron, instead of a yoke of wood."

Consequences of the Reformation.—The religious revolution at first strengthened the political revolution, since it added to the civil rights of princes the right to control the conscience. The Calvinistic communities, however, recognized spiritual power as vested only in the assembly of the faithful.

As to the effect on general civilization, this insurrection of the investigating spirit was at first of small advantage to the progress of public reason. In Germany all utterance was bent upon theology. As in the palmy days of scholasticism, men neglected classic literature to occupy themselves only with barren and insolvable questions. The Renaissance died in consequence. Painters and poets disappeared before the iconoclastic rage of the one party and the theological vagaries of the other.

Luther and Calvin, the former of whom intrusted to the princes the spiritual power, and the latter of whom burned Michael Servetus and taught predestination, are not directly the fathers of modern liberty. But on the field, where man toils and sows, a harvest which he does not expect springs up. The denial of the Pope's absolute authority in the

spiritual order inevitably ended in the denial of the absolute authority of kings in the philosophical and social order. Luther and Calvin unwittingly led to Bacon and Descartes, and Bacon and Descartes as unconsciously led to Locke and Mirabeau.

X

THE CATHOLIC RESTORATION

Reforms at the Papal Court and in the Church. The Jesuits.—The papacy had in a few years lost half of its empire. Roused by this solemn warning, it began a work of internal reformation which did honor to four great Popes—Paul III, Paul IV, Pius V and Sixtus V. The tribunal of the Rota, the penitentiary, the Roman chancellery, were better organized. A new Inquisition, whose superior tribunal sat at Rome, was instituted in 1542 to search out and punish, at home and abroad, all attacks upon the faith. Neither rank nor dignity could protect from the jurisdiction of the inquisitors, who set to work with such energy that the roads leading from Italy to Switzerland and Germany were thronged with fugitives. The Congregation of the Index permitted no book to be printed until after it had been examined and revised. As individuals were executed, likewise books were burned. These means, obstinately pursued, were successful. Roman Catholicism was saved in the peninsula, but at what a price! The subjection of the Italians to the house of Austria had suppressed political life. The measures taken to prevent or extirpate heresy suppressed literary life. Men ceased to think and art declined like letters.

The Inquisition was considered only a measure of defence. In order to attack, the Holy See multiplied the militia which fought in its name. First the ancient monastic orders were reformed: in 1522 the Camaldules; in 1525 the Franciscans, whence sprang the Capucins. Then new orders were created, as the Theatines in 1524 and the Barnabites in 1530. In 1540 the Jesuits were established, whose statutes reveal one of the strongest political conceptions which has ever existed. In addition to the ordinary vows, the Jesuits swore absolute obedience to the Holy See. Instead of shutting themselves up in the recesses of a convent, they lived in the midst of society, so they might there grasp all the means

of influence. They travelled over the world to keep believers in the faith, or convert heretics and barbarians, and they sought to control the education of the young. When their founder, Ignatius Loyola, died in 1556, the society already numbered fourteen provinces, 100 colleges, and 1000 members. Spain and Italy were under their influence, and their missionaries were traversing Brazil, India, Japan and Ethiopia.

Council of Trent (1545-1563).—Thus fortified, the Church could repudiate those ideas of conciliation which had repeatedly arisen, but which the Protestant princes had rejected lest they should be compelled to restore the ecclesiastical property. The Council of Trent proclaimed the inflexibility of the Catholic doctrines. Convoled in 1545 by Paul III and presided over by his legates, it was subscribed to by eleven cardinals, twenty-five archbishops, 168 bishops, thirty-nine procurators of absent bishops, and seven generals of religious orders. The Italian prelates were in the majority, generally two to one. As the voting was by individuals and not by nations, they were the masters of the council. The ambassadors of the Catholic powers were present at the deliberations.

Transferred from Trent to Bologna in 1546, restored to Trent in 1551, the council dispersed in 1552, at the approach of the Lutherans under Maurice of Saxony. Its sessions were interrupted for ten years, while Paul IV with the help of France, was trying to overthrow the Spanish rule in Italy. When the sword of the Duke of Alva had terminated this conflict to the advantage of Spain, Pius IV abandoned the temporal cause of Italian independence. He was recompensed in spiritual matters by the last decrees of the Council of Trent, which instead of following the Fathers of Constance and Basle and setting itself above the Pope, humbled itself before his authority.

The pontiff remained sole judge of the changes to be made in discipline, supreme interpreter of the canons, undisputed head of the bishops, infallible in matters of faith, but nevertheless without possessing the personal infallibility (*se solo*) which Pius IX extorted from the council of 1870. Thus Rome could console herself for the final loss of a part of Europe, as she beheld her power doubled in the Catholic nations of the south, which pressed religiously about her.

The Pope also, in his quality of king, was his own master. Pius V celebrated in the victory of Lepanto, won by Don John of Austria over the Ottomans, a sort of revival of the crusades. Gregory XIII attached his name to the useful reform of the calendar. Sixtus V restored order in the papal states, displaying therein the inflexibility of Louis XI. He cleared the Roman country of the hordes of brigands, improved the finances, enlarged and adorned his capital, whose population rose to 100,000 souls, built the Vatican Library and annexed to it a printing-office, for the publication of sacred books and of the writings of the Fathers.

Thus reform in the temporal administration of the pontifical states and reform in the bosom of the Church resulted from the efforts of Catholicism, in the second half of the sixteenth century, and caused its subsequent greatness. When discipline was revived and the scandal of the worldly life of prelates was repressed, the religious spirit reawoke. Asceticism and consecration again appeared.

At Rome something more was hoped for than this restoration of Catholicism to its diminished empire. The image of Gregory VII had passed before the eyes of his successors, and the regenerated Church had resumed the ambition of her great pontiffs. Democratic in the first centuries, aristocratic in the Middle Ages, with her powerful bishops, who in case of need, threatened the Pope with excommunication, and with her councils which enforced her will, she had followed the tendency of the civil power, and through the necessities of her own defence had culminated in absolute royalty.

Unfortunately for her, this constitution of sacerdotal royalty took place at the moment when the temporal monarchies were too strong to humble themselves under any authority whatever. The decisions of the Council of Trent as to matters of discipline, were not received in France, not even in Spain, and the Catholic sovereigns appropriated to themselves a portion of the prerogatives which the Protestant princes had obtained by force. But when the authority of these monarchs yielded under the pressure of a new political revolution, ultramontanism in the nineteenth century resumed the work of the sixteenth. It was too late, for though the struggle was to be conducted this time with greater concentration, the force of the Church was less, and the spirit of the world ran in other channels.

XI

FURTHER WARS IN ITALY. FRANCIS I, CHARLES V
AND SOULEÏMAN

The Victory of Marignano (1515).—The successor of Louis XII was Francis I. Young, ardent and warlike, he commenced his reign by an invasion of the Milanese territory. He crossed the Alps by the Neck of Argentière and at Marignano attacked 30,000 Swiss, whom he overthrew in the "Battle of the Giants." The Swiss were disgusted with these Italian wars. They returned to their mountains, where they signed the "perpetual peace" which assured their alliance with France until the French Revolution. To arrest the young conqueror, Pope Leo X made haste to sign a treaty, to the cost of the Church of France, but to the mutual profit of the Pope and the king. The Concordat of 1516 suppressed the ecclesiastical elections which had been recognized by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, and gave the king the direct appointment of the bishops and of the beneficed clergy. To the Pope it assigned the annates, or first year revenues of vacant sees. In this partition the pontiff left the spiritual share to the prince and took the temporal share for himself.

Power of Charles V.—By a series of fortunate marriages, a rival and dangerous power had been formed over against France. In 1516 Charles of Austria took possession of Spain, where Ferdinand the Catholic had just died. He found himself master of Austria, the Netherlands, Franche-Comté, Naples, Sicily, Spain and America. Francis I, still elated by the victory of Marignano, did not fear the master of so many divided states. Instead of trying to dismember this monstrous power before it could consolidate, he concluded with Charles the treaty of Noyon, which permitted his youthful antagonist at his leisure to gather together all his crowns (1516).

This friendship was broken three years later, when the imperial throne became vacant through the death of Maxi-

milian. Charles and Francis became competitors for it. The electors deemed those candidates too powerful and chose Frederick the Wise. He declined the honor, but advised the choice of Charles, since that prince was more interested than any one else in defending Germany against the Ottomans, who were daily becoming more menacing. So Charles of Austria became the Emperor Charles V. His power aided by his astuteness threatened the independence of the other states.

France accepted the task of resisting the new *Charlemagne*. The forces of the two adversaries were really less unequal than they seemed. France formed a compact and in a degree a homogeneous whole which it was difficult to crush. Her resources were controlled by a royal house which encountered resistance nowhere at home. By the Concordat Francis I had just placed the clergy under his hand. The feudal aristocracy was already in his power, and he boasted of being a king free from tutelage. Charles V, on the contrary, met opposition on every side: in Spain, from the *comuneros*; in Flanders, from the burghers; in Germany, from the princes and later on from the Protestants. In Austria he had to combat the then terrible Ottomans. Besides, he found it very difficult to concentrate in one direction all his instruments of action, then scattered through so many countries.

First of all the rivals sought allies. Francis I at the interview of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, only succeeded in wounding the self-love of Henry VIII, king of England, whom he eclipsed in elegant luxury and knightly accomplishments. Charles, less pretentious, gained Wolsey, the prime minister of Henry, by promising him the tiara, and thus secured the English alliance for himself. Pope Leo X also declared for the man who seemed able to arrest the fermenting reformation in Germany.

Francis began hostilities by just complaints against the emperor, for not having executed one of the principal clauses of the treaty of Noyon in the restitution of French Navarre. Six thousand men invaded that country, and the Duke of Bouillon attacked Luxemburg. But the French were defeated in Castile, and the Imperialists would have taken Mezières, had not Bayard thrown himself into the place (1521). In Italy Lautrec was left without resources, and forced to submit to his Swiss mercenaries, who demanded

money, discharge, or battle. So he was completely routed at Bicoque (1522). The loss of the Milanese entailed the defection of Venice and Genoa. In that same year, Charles V placed his preceptor, Adrian VI, on the pontifical throne.

Battle of Pavia (1525). Treaties of Madrid (1526) and of Cambrai (1529).—The very existence of France was then imperilled by the treason of the constable of Bourbon, the last of the great feudal lords, whom injustice had driven into the camp of Charles V. He vanquished the incapable Bonnivet at Biagrasso where Bayard was slain (1524), and led the Imperialists into Provence. However the peasants rose and compelled them to retreat in disorder. The French, the king at their head, rushed in pursuit and attacked them at Pavia. The artillery was accomplishing marvels, when Francis I, charging with his cavalry, placed himself in front of his own fire. The battle was lost and the king himself was captured (1525).

Europe was roused and showed herself unwilling to allow the destruction of France. Italy, menaced in her independence, and Henry VIII, who was overshadowed by the glory of Charles V, and whose minister, Wolsey, had been twice tricked by the emperor in his hopes of the promised papal tiara, formed a league against the victor. Meanwhile Francis I, impatient to escape from captivity, signed the disastrous treaty of Madrid (1526), whereby he ceded to Charles the province of Burgundy, renounced Milan, Naples and Genoa, with the suzerainty over Flanders and Artois, reestablished Bourbon in his possessions, and promised to wed the sister of the emperor, the queen dowager of Portugal.

Once free, he caused the deputies of Burgundy in the assembly of Cognac to declare that the king had no right to alienate a national province. The emperor treated Francis as a perjurer and the latter accused him of lying. The two princes challenged each other to single combat and the war again began. Italy was the first victim. Bourbon threw upon it an army of fanatical Lutherans, whose leader, George Frondsberg, wished to hang the Pope with a golden chain. Bourbon was killed under the walls of Rome, but his horde captured the city and avenged him by abominable rapine and most odious cruelty (1527). Lautrec, who had reconquered Milan, marched upon Naples. The defection of the Genoese fleet made the expedition a failure. The

general died of the pest, and the defeat at Landriano drove the French from Italy once more. Then Charles V made his appearance there as a master. He forced the dukes of Ferrara, Milan and Mantua to acknowledge themselves vassals of the empire; Savoy and Montferrat to renounce the French alliance; Pope Clement VII to crown him king of Italy and emperor (1529). France even signed the treaty of Cambrai, less harsh but hardly less humiliating than that of Madrid.

Alliances of Francis I. Successes of Souleïman. — Francis paved the way for revenge by negotiations which showed that the religious spirit, a main characteristic of the Middle Ages, was yielding to the political spirit, the sole inspiration of governments in modern times. He entered into alliance with the Protestants of Germany, with Souleïman, the Ottoman sultan, and later on with the Swedish and Danish reformers. Souleïman (1520-1566), as a friend of the arts, a protector of letters and the author of the code entitled the *Khanounnamé*, deserved his triple surname of the Conqueror, the Magnificent and the Legislator. In 1521 he captured Belgrade, the bulwark of Hungary. In 1522 he wrested Rhodes from the Knights of Saint John, despite their heroic resistance through five months under their Grand Master, Villiers de l'Isle Adam. Souleïman passed the Danube with 200,000 men, and destroyed the Hungarian army on the fatal field of Mohacz (1526), where perished Louis II, the last of the Jagellons. The crown of Hungary fell to Ferdinand of Austria. Souleïman supported against this brother of Charles V, a Magyar claimant, John Zapoli. All Hungary was ravaged, Buda itself fell into his power and he marched through Austria to the very walls of Vienna, which repelled twenty assaults. To cause this reverse to be forgotten the sultan, with his own hands crowned his vassal king of Hungary in Buda.

Two years later he appeared again in Austria at the head of 300,000 men. Fortunately Gratz, a small fortress in Styria, delayed him for a month. During the siege of this town he received the first embassy of Francis I. He intended to invade Germany, but Charles V had had time to collect 150,000 combatants. Lutherans and Catholics joined hands against the crescent, and Francis I dared not aid his formidable ally by a diversion on the Rhine or in Italy. No general battle was fought. At the end of six

weeks the sultan learned that a Spanish fleet had just entered the Dardanelles and was threatening Constantinople, so he withdrew (1532). Meanwhile the Turkish navy was being developed under the celebrated Khaireddin Barbarossa. This corsair, now become the admiral of the Ottoman fleets, scoured the Mediterranean with 100 vessels. While in Asia the sultan was taking Tauris and Bagdad from the Persians, he seized Tunis, which became a lair whence pirates devastated the whole Spanish and Italian coast. Charles V sent two expeditions against them. In the first with 400 vessels commanded by Doria he took possession of La Gouletta at the entrance of the Gulf of Tunis, and freed 22,000 captives (1535). Less fortunate six years later at Algiers, he beheld his fleet dispersed by a tempest, and could scarcely save its pitiable remnants. The emperor afforded more effectual protection to the commerce of Christian peoples by ceding the island of Malta to the Knights of Rhodes, who for a long time repressed the pirates. While Charles V played the part of Defender of Christianity, Francis I seemed to be its enemy. The very year of the expedition to Tunis, he signed with Souleïman the first of those treaties called capitulations.

New War between Charles V and Francis I. — Charles V provoked a new war with France by causing an agent of the French king to be put to death in Constantinople. His second invasion of Provence was no more successful than the first. He found the country systematically devastated by Montmorency, who refused to give battle, and was forced to a disastrous retreat (1536).

Then Francis I cited him before Parliament as a traitorous vassal, since he still held the fiefs of Flanders and Artois. A desperate struggle seemed begun, but a grand victory won by Souleïman at Essek over the Austrians, and the ravages of Barbarossa rendered the emperor more pacific. Francis I was content with having conquered Piedmont, so through the mediation of the Pope, he signed at Nice, a truce of ten years with his rival (1538). The two sovereigns appeared reconciled. In 1540, Ghent revolted, and Francis offered Charles a free pass through France on his way to subjugate it. The emperor accepted and promised to restore Milan. Hardly had he arrived in Flanders when he retracted his promise, and furthermore caused the murder of two French envoys who were on their way to

Turkey. This assassination and the failure of Charles at Algiers decided Francis I to again take up arms. His fleet, united to that of Barbarossa, captured Nice, and the Duke of Enghien won the splendid victory of Cérisoles (1544). But in the north Charles V penetrated as far as Chateau Thierry, fifteen leagues from Paris, and his ally, the king of England, laid siege to Boulogne. Famine and disease stopped the Imperialists who signed the peace of Crespy (1544) on terms of mutual restitution. Henry VIII continued the war and took Boulogne, but gave it back on payment of 2,000,000 francs at the treaty of Ardres (1546).

Abdication of Charles V (1556). — Francis died in 1547. His death left Charles V apparently free to restore the empire of Charlemagne. Souleïman was at that time chiefly absorbed in wars in Asia against the Persians, and the Hungarians seemed capable of checking the Ottomans on the Danube. The Protestants already formed a powerful body in Germany, which the emperor wished to crush before France could send them support. He defeated them at Muhlberg (1547) through the treachery of Maurice of Saxony, and dictated the Interim of Augsburg, which displeased everybody. Henry II, the new king of France, took advantage of the general discontent to declare himself the protector of German liberties. He entered Lorraine, took possession of the Three Bishoprics, Metz, Toul, and Verdun (1551), while the Protestants surprised the emperor and forced him to flee to Italy. By the compromise of Passau Charles accorded them freedom of conscience (1552), and turned against France, his ancient enemy, to avenge this humiliation. His good fortune deserted him before Metz. Then weary of so many fruitless struggles, he renounced the crown of Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands in favor of his son Philip II (1556). Next he abdicated the imperial throne in favor of his brother Archduke Ferdinand, already king of the Romans. From that day forth the house of Austria separated into two branches, and the vast dominion of Charles V was henceforth divided (1556).

Continuation of the Struggle between the Houses of France and Austria (1558-1559). — Thus the integrity of France had not been broken, and Charles V had failed in realizing his dream of a universal monarchy. Germany also preserved her liberties, or in other words her divisions. Italy alone found herself in the hands of the Spaniards, who were

quartered at Naples and Milan. An energetic Pope, Paul IV, undertook to expel them. He counted upon the aid of France for success. So the war continued. One French army was sent towards the Netherlands and another towards Italy. They intended to leave to Philip nothing but Spain.

The Duke of Guise was already marching upon Naples when he was recalled to France by the defeat of Saint Quentin. The bold captain struck a great blow. Unexpectedly in the dead of winter he besieged Calais and captured it in a week (1558). The Spaniards were still on the Somme, and a defeat of the Marshal of Thermes at Gravelines destroyed all hope of their prompt expulsion. Moreover Italy was at their mercy, and the plan of the Pope became impossible of execution. Henry negotiated the treaty of Chateau Cambrésis by which France restored to the Duke of Savoy his states minus a few cities, Siena to the Medici, and Corsica to the Genoese; but she retained the Three Bishoprics, and on payment of 500,000 crowns, the city of Calais (1559).

Thus the Spanish domination was strengthened in northern and southern Italy. The still existing Italian princes possessed hardly more than the shadow of independence. The French kings had thrown France into these wars, hoping to conquer Naples and Milan, but instead had given them to Spain. Their royal rivalries had engrossed the attention and the forces of the sovereigns for forty years. Meanwhile the Reformation had spread over half of Europe. The peace of Chateau Cambrésis ended the Italian wars only to permit the kings of France and Spain to begin, with the aid of the Pope and the Catholic clergy, the religious wars.

XII

THE RELIGIOUS WARS IN WESTERN EUROPE

(1559-1598)

Philip II. — The rehabilitated Church could now make war with arguments. She required also an arm wherewith to do battle with the sword. For this end she possessed, in the sixteenth century, Philip II, the son of Charles V and his successor in Spain, and in the seventeenth the heir of his German possessions, Ferdinand of Austria.

Philip II, whom the Protestants call the Demon of the South, was master of Sicily, Sardinia, Naples and Milan in Italy; of Flanders, Artois, Franche-Comté, Roussillon in France; of the Netherlands at the mouth of the Scheldt, Meuse and Rhine; of Tunis Oran, Cape Verd and the Canary Isles in Africa; of Mexico, Peru, Chili and the Antilles in America; and lastly of the Philippine Islands in Oceanica. He had seaports without number, a powerful fleet, the best disciplined troops and the most skilful generals in Europe, and the inexhaustible treasures of the New World. He increased this domination still further in 1581 by the acquisition of Portugal and her immense colonial empire. The sun never set upon his states. It was a common saying then, "When Spain moves, the earth trembles."

All this power did not satisfy his ambition. As a Catholic he hated the Protestants; as an absolute king he feared them. Both from self-interest and conviction he declared himself the armed leader of Catholicism, which was able out of gratitude, to raise him to the supreme power in Western Europe. This was the thought of his whole life. He recoiled before no means which might crush the hostile principle. To this struggle he consecrated rare talents. Therein he expended all his military forces. He lavished all his gold to foment assassination in Holland, conspiracy in England and civil war in France. We shall see with what success.

Character of This Period. — When the French and Spanish kings signed the peace of Chateau Cambrésis (1559), they purposed to introduce into their government the new spirit which animated the Church, and to wage a pitiless war against heresy. The one undertook to stifle the Reformation in France; the other sought to prevent its birth in Italy and Spain and to crush it in the Netherlands and England. When Henry II died, his three sons, the last of the Valois, carried on his plans. At first they required only the advice of Spain. The oldest, Francis II, reigned less than a year and a half (1559–1560). The second, Charles IX, died at the age of twenty-four (1574). The third, Henry III (1574–1589), who alone attained full manhood, always remained in a sort of minority, whence he emerged only in fits of passion. Hence this Valois line was incapable of conducting in France the great battle of creeds.

But at their side or confronting them, there were persons more strongly tempered for good or ill. Such were Catherine de Medici, their mother, unscrupulous and astute; the Guises, uncles of Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, who organized the Catholics into a party when they saw the Protestants forming a faction around their rivals, the princes of the house of Bourbon; the general Condé; Coligny, who, from a moral point of view, was the superior of them all; in the Netherlands, William the Silent, the Prince of Orange; in England Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII, who, during the reign of her sister Mary, was the hope of the English Protestants.

In the war, many diverging interests were about to engage. The Dutch desired liberty, England her independence, the cities of France their ancient communal rights, and provincial feudalism its former privileges. But the religious form, which was that of the times, covered all. When we survey the whole from the heights of the Vatican or the Escorial, we recognize the fact that the chief aim pursued in Western Europe during the second half of the sixteenth century was the triumph of the Church, as constituted by the Council of Trent, and the triumph of the king of Spain, her military chief.

France the Principal Battleground of the Two Parties. The First War (1562–1563). — The contract, entered into by the two kings at Chateau Cambrésis, had immediately been put into execution. In France, Anne Dubourg was burned at

the stake, and the edict of Écouen threatened the Protestants with death. In Spain Philip II had autos-da-fé celebrated in his presence, in order to show the provincial governors that they must grant no mercy to heretics. At Naples and Milan all suspected persons perished. Even the archbishop of Toledo was persecuted for his opinions. Sanguinary edicts spread the terror to the Netherlands, where the creation of new bishoprics notified the population of a stricter surveillance. This declaration of war against heresy was answered as early as 1559, by acts of the English Parliament, which recognized Elizabeth as the supreme head of the Anglican Church; by the secularization of all the bishoprics of Brandenburg; and by the suppression of the religious and military Order of the Sword Bearers of Livonia. Thus did the Reformation consolidate and extend from the Irish Sea to the recesses of the Baltic, despite the thunders of Rome and the threats of two mighty kings.

It even tried to win France by the plot of Amboise, which came near success, and which the Guises defeated by shedding rivers of blood (1560). In vain did a great magistrate, L'Hôpital, preach moderation and tolerance to those furious men who listened only to their passions. The massacre of Protestants at Vassy (1562) inaugurated a war which only ended thirty-six years later. During this time France was the principal battlefield of the two parties. The atrocious character of the war was evident from the very beginning of hostilities. As soon as Philip II learned that the sword had been drawn, he sent to the south, to Montluc, "the Catholic butcher," 3000 of his best soldiers and directed others from the Netherlands upon Paris. At the same time the German Protestants gave 7000 men to Condé, to whom Elizabeth also despatched reënforcements and money. The defeat of this prince at Dreux and the death of the Duke of Guise, who was assassinated before Orleans, restored influence to the advocates of peace. Catherine de Medici granted to the Protestants the edict of Amboise (1563). Its principal clauses will be found again in the last edict of pacification, that of Nantes, a proof of the uselessness of those thirty-six years of murder, ravage and conflagration.

Success of Catholicism in the Netherlands and in France (1564-1568). The Blood Tribunal (1567).—The edict of Amboise irritated Spain and Rome. Pius V, who had been

grand inquisitor before he became Pope, reproached Catherine for her weakness. During a journey which she made in the south Philip II sent to meet her at Bayonne the most pitiless of his lieutenants, the Duke of Alva, who informed the queen of the policy of his master, which consisted in ridding himself of hostile leaders by assassination. This doubtless was the germ whence the subsequent massacre of Saint Bartholomew developed. The Jesuits were spreading everywhere and were everywhere, preparing the way for a mortal combat with heresy. This time it was in the Netherlands that the fire broke out and thence spread to France.

The Spaniards poured into the Netherlands. They introduced the despotic spirit among a people whose municipal life had always been very strong. The publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent was the signal for insurrection. The nobles, threatened with the loss of their religious and political liberty, bound themselves by the Compromise of Breda (1566) to lend each other mutual aid in obtaining the redress of their grievances. The people among whom the Reformation had already made great progress flung themselves with the blind fury of mobs upon the churches, broke the images of the saints, overthrew the altars and burned the pulpits. Shocked at these demagogical excesses the nobles held aloof, and the revolt, thus isolated, calmed down at once. But Philip decided to make an example. He sent to the Low Countries the Duke of Alva, who instituted the Tribunal of Blood. Eighteen thousand persons perished on the scaffold, among whom were the counts Horn and Egmont. Thirty thousand persons were stripped of their property, 100,000 emigrated, and a ruinous tax destroyed the fortunes of those who remained.

These events found their echo in France, where the second civil war broke out (1567), marked by the battle of Saint Denis. Then came the third civil war (1568), where Italians hired by Pius V, Spaniards despatched by the Duke of Alva, and Catholic Germans fought against the Protestants of all countries. At Jarnac Condé was slain, and at Moncontour Coligny was defeated.

Thus the victory remained with the Catholics. In France, Catherine resolved to sign the Peace of Saint Germain (1570) that she might gain time to devise "something else." In the Netherlands the Catholic triumph was apparently com-

plete, and preparations were carried on for an invasion of England, where since 1563 Spanish gold had been cleverly employed to keep up the agitation. In Spain every attempt to escape from religious and political tyranny was mercilessly repressed. The wrath of the king hung over all. He drove his son to suicide, his wife to death and the Moors of the Alpujarras to revolt. He established the Inquisition in the Spanish colonies, and from one end to the other of his dominions silence and terror reigned. During this period Catholicism suffered only one serious check, when the errors and the fall of Mary Stuart (1568) assured the victory in Scotland to the followers of the Reformation.

Dispersion of the Forces of Spain. Victory of Lepanto (1571). — Meanwhile the forces of Spain were being dispersed in all directions. Much money was expended and many soldiers were employed. In Andalusia they fought the Moors who supported by England resisted until 1571. On the Mediterranean they fought the Ottomans, whose progress continued and who conquered Cyprus in 1570. In the Netherlands they fought the Gueux or “beggars,” who along the coast and at the mouth of the rivers intercepted the Spanish vessels, prevented the provisioning of the strongholds and thus inspired uneasiness in one party and hope in the other. At Naples, at Milan, on the coast of Africa, in the colonies, in Mexico, in Peru, everywhere, strong garrisons were required and Spain drained herself of men to maintain her domination of the world.

The only honorable war carried on was that against the Ottomans, but it was ruinous. Thus in 1558 a squadron and army sent against Tlemcen were destroyed. In the following year 15,000 soldiers on 200 vessels tried to capture Tripoli and suffered a frightful disaster. Four years later, the fleet of Naples was overwhelmed by a tempest. In 1565 Souleiman, who had already wrested Rhodes from the Knights, besieged them in Malta, but was repulsed by their Grand Master, La Valette. These efforts of the Ottomans to render themselves masters of the whole Mediterranean forced Philip II to direct a large proportion of his resources against them. After the loss of Cyprus he got together 300 ships manned by 80,000 soldiers and rowers, and his natural brother, Don Juan of Austria, won the famous but useless victory of Lepanto (1571). “When we take a kingdom from you,” said Sultan Selim to the Venetian ambassador, “we

deprive you of an arm. When you disperse our fleet, you merely shave our beard, which does not hinder its growing again." In fact he equipped immediately 250 vessels.

Catholic Conspiracies in England and in France.—Such expenditure of men and money rendered Philip unable to interfere in the affairs of France and England except by plots. The victory of Lepanto encouraged the Catholics. The Duke of Norfolk vainly tried to overthrow Elizabeth and enthrone Mary Stuart, while Catherine de Medici sought to annihilate the Calvinist party by the massacre of Saint Bartholomew.

When Darnley, the husband of Mary Stuart, was murdered by the Earl of Bothwell (1567) and the queen married the assassin, all Scotland rose against her. Mary took refuge with Elizabeth, who treated her as a prisoner (1568). The expiation of such injustice began almost immediately, and England thenceforth was constantly agitated by Catholic plots to deliver the captive. Philip pensioned the English Catholics, who had fled to the continent. He threw open to their priests the seminaries of Flanders, so as to hold the British coast under the perpetual menace of an invasion more formidable than that of an army of soldiers. In 1569 the Pope excommunicated Elizabeth. Thereupon many lords got together a little army, which had as its standard a picture of Jesus Christ with his five bleeding wounds. In the following year a fresh rebellion was repressed like the first. A third unsuccessful attempt was made in 1572 by the Duke of Norfolk, to whom Mary Stuart had promised her hand, but who was defeated and mounted the scaffold.

Thus in England Protestantism made a victorious defence. In France it seemed on the point of perishing. After the peace of Saint Germain Admiral Coligny gained great influence over the mind of the king, the young Charles IX. He wished to lead the French Protestants against the Spaniards in the Netherlands, and thus by one stroke end the civil wars in France, and commence a national war against the foreigner. The execution of this sagacious plan was in preparation, when a professional assassin in the pay of the house of Guise severely wounded the admiral. The king was finally persuaded to order a general massacre of the Protestants on Saint Bartholomew's day, August 24, 1572. The unsuspecting victims were butchered

by thousands. For this abominable crime the king received warm congratulations from the courts of Rome and Spain. "Be fully assured," Philip II wrote, "that in furthering thus the affairs of God, you are furthering your own still more." This is the countersign of that atrocious and odious policy which masked political ambition under the guise of piety.

Progress of Protestantism (1572-1587).—Protestantism, mutilated and bleeding, rose up stronger than ever. Despite the loss of its most experienced captains and most valiant soldiers, the Calvinist party rushed to arms after the massacre of Saint Bartholomew and at the peace of La Rochelle enforced the recognition of its right to liberty of conscience. That political crime of August 24 was therefore as always happens useless. When Henry III, a man of distinguished ability, but of corrupt heart, succeeded Charles IX in 1574, he found himself face to face with three parties which he was incapable of controlling: the politicians, headed by his youngest brother, François d'Alençon; the Calvinist, who recognized as their leader Henry of Béarn, king of Navarre; and the enthusiastic Catholics, whom Henry of Guise organized into the faction of the league, and who opposed both the king and the Huguenots. Unimportant wars and treaties carry us to the year 1584, when the Duke of Alençon died. As Henry III had no son, Henry of Navarre, the leader of the Protestants, became heir presumptive to the crown. In the war of the three Henrys he consecrated his rights by the brilliant victory of Coutras (1587). Thus it seemed that the religious wars in France were on the point of elevating a heretic to the throne of Saint Louis, in spite of the excommunication of the Pope, who had declared Henry of Navarre unworthy to succeed to the crown.

In the Netherlands, there was likewise Protestant success. After having long carried on a piratical war which effected nothing, the Gueux undertook war on land which might lead to some result. In 1572 they seized Briel, and the two provinces of Holland and Zealand immediately took up arms.

Supported by the Protestants of Germany, England and France, aided by the nature of their country intersected by canals, above all commanded by William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, who was surnamed the Silent despite his elo-

quence and who understood quite as well as Coligny, his father-in-law, how to extort advantage even from reverses, the insurgents defended themselves with success. Violence having failed, Philip wished to try mildness and replaced the Duke of Alva. But the army, left without pay and without provisions, sacked the principal cities. The general irritation gave rise to the confederation of Ghent (1576), which united for a time all the Netherlands against the Spanish rule.

Unfortunately this union could not long be maintained between the ten Walloon provinces, or modern Belgium, which were manufacturing and Catholic, and the seven Batavian provinces, or modern Holland, which were commercial and Calvinistic. Opposition of interests and beliefs was bound to bring about opposition of political views.— In 1579 in fact the Walloons, by the treaty of Mæstricht, recognized Philip II as their king. On the other hand the northern provinces made a closer union at Utrecht, and constituted themselves a republic, with William of Orange as stadtholder or governor general. Two years later the States General of The Hague, the federal capital of the United Provinces, solemnly separated themselves from the crown of Spain, and declared that Philip II had forfeited all authority in the Netherlands.

The king set a price on the head of William the Silent. A rascal, who wished to earn this reward, murdered the stadtholder (1584), but the liberty of the United Provinces no longer hung upon the life of one man. The Dutch understood how to defend their independence, even against the skilful Farnese Duke of Parma. They were also aided by England, which in 1585 sent them 6000 men, and by France, whither the duke was twice obliged to go to the succor of the League, and where in his second journey he died. Thus the war undertaken by the Catholics in the Netherlands resulted in the establishment of a new people among the nations.

England and Spain had not yet grappled in hand to hand combat. But Elizabeth was sending to all the enemies of Philip II arms, soldiers and money, and by means of bold corsairs was carrying on a disastrous war against Spanish commerce. Drake in 1577 pillaged the cities on the coast of Chili and Peru, captured many ships, and after making the circuit of the globe returned at the end of three years

with immense booty. Cavendish in 1585 devastated the Spanish establishments for the second time, while the Dutch laid waste those of Portugal, which had become a province of Spain. The king could not revenge himself, because his two enemies then had no trading posts or commerce, and there were no vulnerable points outside their territory where he could strike them. Thus against Elizabeth he saw no weapon but conspiracy. The cruel situation created for English Catholics by the queen rendered this easy. In one year 200 persons were beheaded, for the Protestants practised toleration no more than their adversaries, and on both sides they defended heaven by torture or assassination. A final attempt to kill the queen of England decided her to send Mary Stuart to the scaffold (1587). With the head of the niece of the Guises fell all the hopes of a Catholic restoration in Great Britain.

Defeat of Spain and of Ultramontaniam (1588-1598). — The Ultramontane party, vanquished in the Netherlands and in England and menaced in France, resolved upon a supreme effort. As early as 1584 the Guises had treated with Philip II and infused fresh life into the League. He himself exhausted all the resources of his states to organize an army and a fleet strong enough to bring back the Netherlands and England, and after them France, to the Catholic faith, and subject them to the law of Spain. On June 3, 1588, the invincible Armada issued from the Tagus. It was to land in England an army of 50,000 men. Storms and the English and Flemish sailors with their fire-ships got the better of this arrogant expedition. The plan, over which Philip II had toiled for five years and upon which he had meditated for eighteen, was utterly shipwrecked in the space of a few days.

At the moment when Philip believed that his Armada was carrying him back victorious to London, Guise, his best ally, was making a triumphal entry into Paris, whence the king escaped as a fugitive. But the Spanish fleet once destroyed, Henry III began to hope again. He enticed Henry of Guise to Blois, where he had him murdered. Then joining the heretic king of Navarre, he returned to lay siege to his capital. A monk assassinated him in his camp (1589).

The Huguenot Henry of Navarre was immediately proclaimed king of France as Henry IV. Though many Cath-

olics abandoned him, 7000 English, 10,000 Dutch and 12,000 Germans came to his help, which permitted him to hold his own against the Spaniards and Italians who had hastened to the aid of the League. The battles of Arques and of Ivry confirmed his fortune and his renown (1590). Twice the Duke of Parma endeavored to capture Paris and Rouen (1591). But demagogic excesses, the general lassitude, and the imprudence of Philip II, who demanded of the States General of 1593 the crown of France for his daughter Isabella, the promised bride of an Austrian archduke, rallied the politicians around Henry IV. Soon afterward he abjured Protestantism at Saint Denis, "because Paris was well worth a mass," and was generally accepted as king (1593).

The League had no longer any reason to exist. It retarded but could not prevent the triumph of Henry IV. Brissac sold him Paris when he expelled the Spanish garrison. A few months later papal absolution consecrated his rights even in the eyes of the leaguers. The chiefs were then compelled to acknowledge him. The Duke of Guise yielded, as did Villars, Brancas and Mayenne, but all made him pay for their submission. A brief war with Spain, signalized by the battle of Fontaine Française and the siege of Amiens, brought about the peace of Vervins, which reestablished the boundaries of the two kingdoms, on the footing of the treaty of Chateau Cambrésis. Three weeks earlier Henry IV had assured peace at home by signing the edict of Nantes, which guaranteed the Protestants liberty of conscience, freedom of worship in their castles and in a great number of cities, equal representation in the parliaments of the south, and places of surety. Lastly, they were accorded the right of assembling by deputies, every three years, to present their complaints to the government (1598). Thus they constituted a state within the state.

XIII

RESULTS OF THE RELIGIOUS WARS IN WESTERN
EUROPE

Decline and Ruin of Spain. — There is no greater moral lesson in history than that afforded by the reign of Philip II. That man, for the sake of ruling the human will and conscience, devoted to his ambition apparently inexhaustible resources, and an energy that flinched at nothing. Everything seemed legitimate to his mind, devoured by a double fanaticism, at once political and religious. In the task which the Pope and the king pursued in common, the Church was far more the instrument than the end, for Catholic restoration was to result in the consolidation of Spanish supremacy. And when to attain his object Philip II had shed torrents of blood, he found that he had slain neither heresy nor popular liberty, but had destroyed Spain. Everything was perishing in the peninsula. Commerce and industry, which had been cruelly attacked by the expulsion of the Jews and Moors, were still further affected by the monopolies which the government set up. Agriculture was succumbing under the periodical ravages of the flocks of the Mesta. The population, decimated by war and emigration, was also diminished by the multiplication of convents. For all these reasons labor decreased and the country was forced to purchase abroad what it could no longer produce. Thus the gold of America traversed Spain without rendering it fruitful and flowed rapidly towards the productive nations. This explains the astonishing fact that the possessor of the richest deposits of metals in the world was twice obliged (1575 and 1596) to suspend payment, and that he left a debt of over \$200,000,000. Men had not yet learned that real wealth does not exist in the gold which represents it, but in the labor which creates it.

Philip II died in 1598, four months after the edict of Nantes and the treaty of Vervins. He had witnessed the crumbling of all his plans and the strengthening of his two

great adversaries, Henry IV and Elizabeth, on the thrones which they had gloriously reconquered or preserved. A century later the Marquis de Torcy said: "Spain is a body without a soul." We have seen that Italy shared the fate of Spain.

Prosperity of England and Holland.—The perils from internal conspiracies and foreign war, which England had just escaped, permitted Elizabeth to finish the work of the Tudors by constituting the most absolute royalty which ever existed in the land. As head of the Church she persecuted the Non-Conformists with cruelty. In order that she might more effectively reach their adversaries, the Anglicans delivered over to her the public liberties. The jury was nearly suppressed. In Parliament not a voice dared raise itself against the ministers. "In the trials for high treason which were instituted on the slightest pretext, the courts of justice differed little from regular caverns of assassins." This is what the War of the Roses, the Reformation and religious hatreds had made of free England. Beneath this despotism a revolution was in secret preparation, which was to break out against the second successor of Elizabeth.

At least she had developed all the sources of national wealth for her country by favoring commerce and the marine; by the creation of the Exchange in London; by the colonization of Virginia, whence were brought the potato and tobacco; by the immigration into England of the Flemish who fled from Spanish tyranny, and caused their adopted country to profit by their industrial and commercial skill. Under Queen Elizabeth lived one of the greatest dramatic poets of the world, Shakespeare, and a philosopher, Bacon, who brought about a salutary revolution in the sciences by effecting the final adoption of the experimental method.

The Dutch, while defending against Philip II their half-submerged land, had already become the carriers of the ocean and the harvesters of the sea. They bartered their tons of herrings for tons of gold, by provisioning with salted viands the Catholic countries where the practice of fasting rendered such food a necessity. In a single year the fishermen turned into the treasury 5,000,000 florins as their share of the taxes. Moreover they carried on an enormous commission trade, taking merchandise where it was cheap and transporting it where it was needed. Philip II closed

Lisbon to them. Therefore they sought their Oriental wares at the places of production, and by the conquest of the Moluccas laid the foundations of a colonial empire which the great East India Company, organized in 1602, developed and strengthened. The two provinces of Holland and Zealand alone possessed 70,000 sailors, through whose hands the entire commerce of Spain and Portugal was destined to pass.

Reorganization of France by Henry IV (1598-1610). — Henry IV, by the treaty of Vervins and the edict of Nantes, gave France peace at home and abroad. The country's wounds remained to be healed. The finances were in the most deplorable state. The public debt amounted perhaps to 1,300,000,000 francs and the income was barely 30,000,000 a year. Henry IV chose for superintendent of the finances the soldier Sully, the faithful comrade of his fortunes. This energetic and devoted minister made the revenue farmers disgorge. He himself verified the product of the imposts and fixed them at only a proper amount. In less than a dozen years, although the taxes had been reduced by 4,000,000, the public service was assured, 147,000,000 of debts had been paid, 8,000,000 worth of domains redeemed, and a surplus of 20,000,000 placed in reserve in the vaults of the Bastille.

“Tillage and pasturage,” said Sully, “are the two breasts which nourish France. They are the real mines and treasures of Peru.” Therefore he decreed the draining of marshes, prohibited the destruction of the forests and permitted the free exportation of grain. Tax collectors were forbidden to seize the beasts or instruments of tillage. And lastly, Olivier de Serres, a great scientific agriculturist, popularized by his works the true maxims of rural culture and economy. Sully despised manufactures, but the king, who was less exclusive, had 50,000 mulberry trees planted and revived the factories of Lyons, Nîmes and Tours, which Francis I had established. He founded factories for glass and pottery at Nevers and Paris, concluded treaties of commerce with Holland and England, restored to France the monopoly of commerce in the East, and had Champlain build the city of Quebec in Canada (1608).

Henry IV longed to restore peace to Europe as he had restored it to France. He conceived the plan of a grand confederation of European states, with a diet to settle in-

ternational differences. With this aim in view, he was about to begin a war with Austria and had already taken the field with 40,000 men, to determine the succession of Cleves and Juliers, when the dagger of Ravallac saved Austria (1610).

Such were the results of the formidable enterprise directed by the papacy and Spain against the modern spirit which was awakening. The independence of Europe was saved. Toleration had won its first victory and liberty of the mind could begin. A new state, the United Provinces, was about to treat on terms of equality with the most glorious kings. An ancient state, England, had received the revelation of her future greatness. France was placed by a great prince at the head of Europe. Spain, in conclusion, fell from the hands of Philip II, exhausted and agonizing; and the Roman Inquisition made of Italy for three centuries the land of the dead.

XIV

**THE RELIGIOUS WARS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, OR THE
THIRTY YEARS' WAR**

(1618-1648)

Preliminaries of the Thirty Years' War (1555-1618).— The struggle of ultramontanism against the Reformation, after the Catholic restoration effected by the Council of Trent and the papacy, broke out first in Western Europe. Vanquished in France, the Netherlands, England and Scotland, and constrained to submit to the edict of toleration proclaimed at Nantes in 1598, ultramontanism attempted twenty years later to regain Germany and the countries of the North. The first war had lasted thirty-six years and covered with ruins all the lands situated between the Pyrenees and the North Sea. The second lasted thirty years (1618-1648) and extended its ravages from the Danube to the Scheldt, from the shores of the Po to those of the Baltic, destroying cities, ruining nations, decimating the population and bringing back barbarism. Men employed two-thirds of a century in murdering each other in the name of the God of charity and love.

When Charles V, fallen from the height of his hopes, resolved to abdicate, he first promulgated the peace of Augsburg. This could be only a truce, because it contained an ecclesiastical reservation which forbade any holder of a benefice on becoming a Protestant to retain any church property which he had formerly held. Moreover Lutheranism had split up into a multitude of sects which interpreted differently the question of grace. The universities of Jena, Wittenberg and Leipzig excommunicated each other in turn, and in the midst of this confusion the Duke of Saxony, a temporal sovereign, arrogated the right of dictating a creed and of expelling or imprisoning all infringers thereof. In 1580 the followers of the Reforma-

tion in Saxony and Brandenburg signed a "formula of concord," to which the three electors and a great number of princes and cities gave their adhesion, but which other states of northern Germany rejected. In conclusion, the separation was so profound between the Lutherans and the Calvinists, that the former allowed the Catholics to deprive of his electorate Gebhard von Truchsess, archbishop of Cologne, who had become a Calvinist (1583). These quarrels permitted the Catholics to regain ground, thanks to the cleverness of the Jesuits, who from Bavaria, their headquarters in Germany, extended their action to a distance. They caused the Protestants of Aix-la-Chapelle to be expelled, the republic of Donauwerth to be degraded from its rank as an imperial city, and prevented a reformer from becoming bishop of Strasburg. Thus the plan of a Catholic restoration was being carried out in Germany.

The uneasy Protestants drew together and formed the Evangelical Union (1608). To this their adversaries opposed the Catholic League, the direction of which Austria under feeble princes abandoned to Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria.

The succession to Cleves, Berg and Juliers (1609) came near setting Europe aflame. Two Protestant heirs presented themselves, the Duke of Neuburg and the Elector of Brandenburg. When the emperor sequestered the duchies, the Protestants complained and Henry IV was about to uphold them when he died by assassination (1610). The contention was prolonged. Neuburg became Catholic; Brandenburg, Calvinist. The Spaniards entered the country from one side and the Dutch from the other. At that moment the policy of Austria was changed by the accession of Ferdinand II, an energetic prince, who blew up with gunpowder the heretical churches in his states and on one occasion burned 10,000 Bibles.

Palatine Period (1618-1625).—The Bohemians, whose privileges he had violated, rose in revolt and chose Frederick, the elector palatine, son-in-law of the king of England, as their king (1618). Thus, just a century after the outbreak of the Reformation, began a struggle which repeated in Central Europe what we have already seen in the west; namely, a political war under the mask of a war for religion. Ferdinand II in fact was determined to make ultramontaniam triumph, but like Philip II,

he intended it to redound to his personal profit and to render Germany an Austrian province.

Frederick was a Calvinist. Hence the Lutherans deserted him, while the Spaniards on the contrary made common cause with the Austrians and their allies. When the battle of White Mountain, won by the forces of the League, delivered Bohemia to Ferdinand II, he committed abominable cruelties. Two centuries later the country still showed the effects of this sanguinary restoration of Catholicism.

The proscribed Bohemians were formed into an army by Count von Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick. They long held in check the Bavarian General Tilly and the Spaniards of the Netherlands who had come to his help.

Danish Period (1625-1629).—The Protestant princes had time to penetrate the designs of Ferdinand and call in the kings of the North, whom the defeat of the German Reformers would leave exposed to the blows of Austria. Christian IV, king of Denmark, was the first to enter the lists (1625) and occupied the country between the Elbe and the Weser. While in that direction he was arresting the forces of the Catholic League, in his rear an adventurer called Wallenstein was bringing to the emperor, who had no army, 50,000 men and later 100,000, who lived by pillage and whose leader reserved for himself the absolute command. Routed by Tilly at Lutter, and threatened by Wallenstein with being cut off from Holstein, the Danish king retreated to his peninsula and signed the peace of Lubeck (1629). Then northern Germany, despoiled by the edict of restitution and occupied by 100,000 imperialists, bowed its head before the Austrian power. Wallenstein said openly "that no more princes or electors were needed in Germany; that everything there ought to be subject to a single king, as in France and Spain." Thus what Prussia has done in our day, Austria believed herself on the point of accomplishing.

Fortunately, the French Cardinal Richelieu thwarted this plan. He sent secret emissaries to arouse the jealousy and the courage of the princes. At the Diet of Ratisbon, he persuaded them to demand the recall of Wallenstein, who was crushing Germany with his requisitions and to refuse the title of King of the Romans to the son of Ferdinand II. At the same time, he induced Poland and Sweden to con-

clude a peace, so that the king of the latter, already so renowned under the name of Gustavus Adolphus, might be free to hasten to the succor of the Reformers.

Swedish Period (1630-1635).— That great captain took alarm when he saw Catholicism and the Austrians obtaining a foothold on the shores of the Baltic. He disembarked in Pomerania (1630) with 16,000 admirably disciplined men. France could not join him in offensive alliance. But at least she promised him an annual subsidy of 400,000 crowns. When he had conquered Pomerania, he made his way into Saxony, defeated Tilly at Leipzig (1631), and expelled all the Catholic or Spanish garrisons from Franconia, Suabia, the Upper Rhine and the Palatinate, while the Elector of Saxony invaded Lusatia and Bohemia. Having thus separated the Imperialists and the Spaniards, he entered Bavaria and forced the passage of the Lech, where Tilly was slain. But the emperor had recalled Wallenstein, who rapidly formed another army, flung himself upon Saxony and forced Gustavus to come to its defence. The Swedish king won at Lutzen his last victory, and died in his triumph (1632). Skilful generals, his pupils, took his place at the head of the armies. The chancellor Oxenstiern succeeded him in the council. Ferdinand made their task easier by assassinating Wallenstein of whose ambition he was afraid (1634). But that same year the defeat of Bernard of Saxe-Weimar at Nordlingen deprived Sweden of all her German allies except the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; and Richelieu considered it necessary to set the armies of France in motion at last.

French Period (1635-1648).— At first he was unfortunate. The Spaniards crossed the Somme and took possession of Corbie. The court and Paris had a moment of terror. But Richelieu averted the danger, reconquered Corbie and imposed victory upon his generals under pain of death. La Meilleraye and Châtillon captured Arras (1640). Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, bought by Richelieu, conquered Alsace, and dying shortly afterward, bequeathed his army and his conquest to France. D'Harcourt won three victories in Piedmont, which was then the ally of the Spaniards. The king himself marched to take possession of Perpignan, which is still French. In order to give Spain occupation at home, Richelieu encouraged revolts in Catalonia and Portugal. The Swedish generals Banner and Torstenson

completed the French successes in the west by victories in Brandenburg, Silesia and Saxony. Guébriant, triumphant at Wolfenbützel and at Kempen (1641-1642), was effecting his junction with the Swedes, so as to hurl their combined forces upon exhausted Austria, when Richelieu died (1643). His death emboldened the Spaniards, who invaded France. Condé routed them at Rocroi (1643), at Fribourg (1644), at Nordlingen (1645) and lastly at Lens (1648). Thus the conclusion of the peace of Westphalia was compelled.

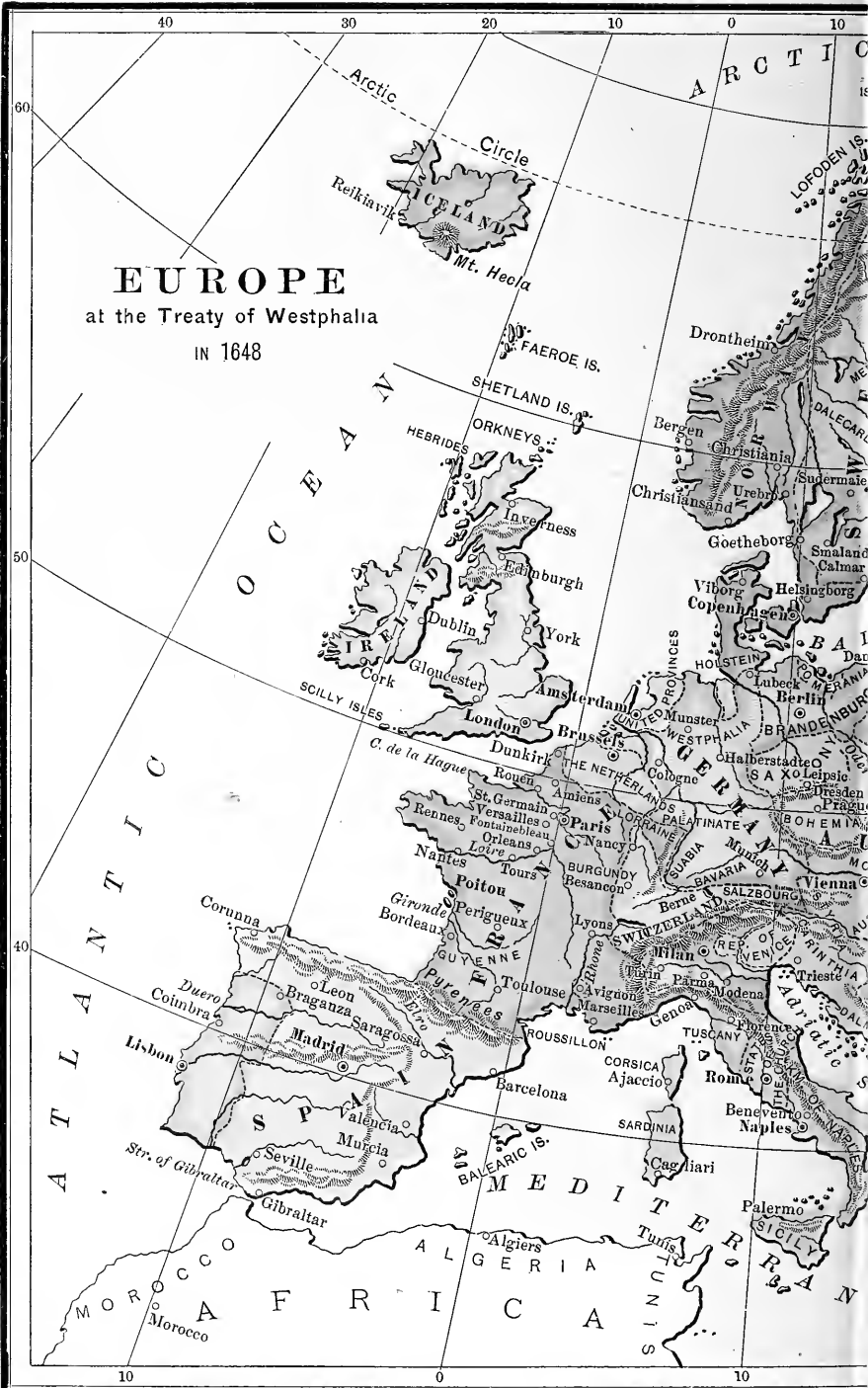
XV

RESULTS OF THE RELIGIOUS WARS IN CENTRAL EUROPE

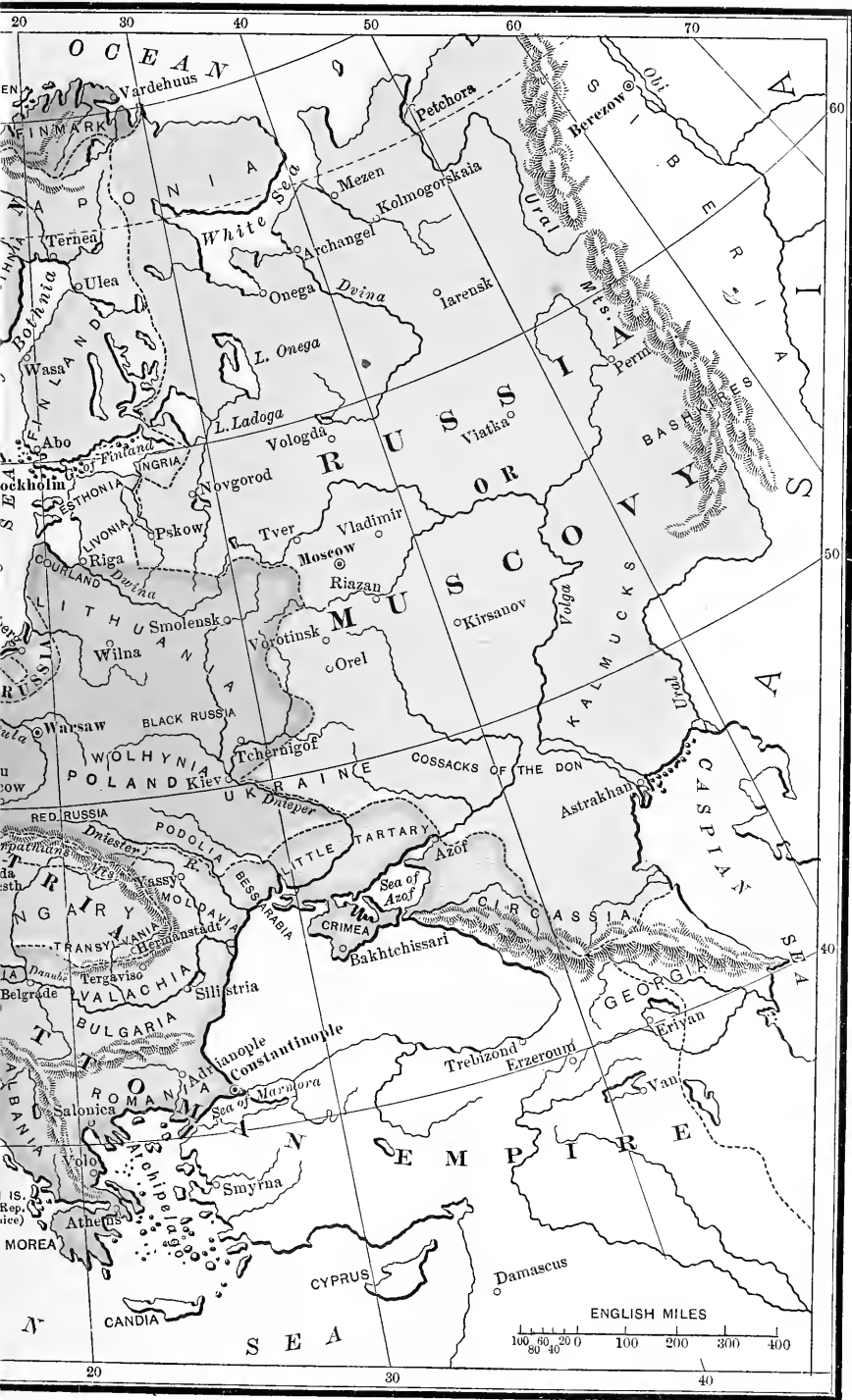
Peace of Westphalia (1648).—Negotiations for peace had been begun in 1641, but were not seriously undertaken until 1644 in two cities of Westphalia. At the last moment Spain withdrew hoping to profit by the troubles of the Fronde, which were then breaking out in France, and to regain Cerdagne, Roussillon and Artois, which she had lost. The other states signed the treaty in October, 1648.

Advantages won by the Protestants. Religious Independence of the German States.—Austria had tried to stifle the religious liberties of Germany. Since she was vanquished, whatever she had wished to overthrow still existed. The princes enjoyed full liberty of conscience. Their subjects possessed it only under many restrictions; for in each state one religion dominated, either Catholic, Lutheran, or Calvinist. No other religious organizations were recognized. These three obtained equality of rights. As to the possession of ecclesiastical property and the exercise of worship, everything was restored in Germany to the condition of 1624, except in the Palatinate, which was set back to the year 1618. Thus the territorial acquisitions and conversions, effected since the peace of Augsburg in 1555, were recognized. In order to indemnify the Protestant princes, many bishoprics and abbeys were secularized. It was a cardinal, Richelieu, who brought about this treaty. It was another cardinal, Mazarin, who signed it. Two princes of the Church had been the instruments to defeat ultramontanism and the papacy. It was a proof that politics were no longer based upon creeds, and that temporal interests must henceforth depend solely on themselves.

Political Independence of the German States.—When Wallenstein was pressing upon Germany with his immense army and when Ferdinand II was distributing to his kinsmen the spoils of the princes, one might have thought that



EUROPE
 at the Treaty of Westphalia
 IN 1648



Engraved by Colton, Ohman & Co. N. Y.

the dream of Otho the Great, of Frederick Barbarossa and of Charles V was being realized, and that the unity of the empire was assured under the absolute authority of the emperor. France and the Swedes dispelled this dream. The German princes and states were assured the right of suffrage in the diet on questions of alliance, war, treaty and new laws. They were confirmed in the full and entire exercise of sovereignty in their territory. They had also the right to ally themselves with foreign powers, provided, as said a restriction, that it was not against the emperor or the empire. Thus the imperial authority was only a title and Germany henceforth formed not a state, but a confederation.

For a long time Switzerland and Holland had been foreign to the empire. This separation in fact was formally recognized.

Acquisitions of Sweden and France. — The victors lacked moderation. Sweden caused such territories to be ceded her as placed in her hands the mouths of the three great German rivers, the Oder, Elbe and Weser. These were useless acquisitions, because she could not keep them. They were dangerous acquisitions, because tempting her to interfere in continental wars, whereby she was to lose her good fortune. France retained Pignerol in Piedmont, that is to say, a door open upon Italy; also Alsace, a precious possession, and beyond the Rhine Vieux Brisach and Philipsburg, where she had the right to keep a garrison. Moreover by forcing recognition of the right of the German states to contract alliance with foreign powers, she always had the means of purchasing support among those indigent princes. Thus the French had on the west, like the Swedes on the north, an offensive position. Germany, divided into four or five hundred states, Lutheran and Catholic, monarchical and republican, secular and ecclesiastical, was of necessity to become the theatre of every intrigue and the battle-ground of Europe. Such, from the same causes, her divisions and anarchy, had been the condition of Italy at the beginning of modern times.

If the Bourbons had not inherited the ambition of the Hapsburgs and stirred up against themselves the same coalitions, the peace of Westphalia would have constituted the grandeur of France and the political liberty of Europe.

XVI

RICHELIEU AND MAZARIN. COMPLETION OF
MONARCHICAL FRANCE

(1610-1661)

Minority of Louis XIII (1610-1617).—While the papacy, the chief power of the Middle Ages, was growing weaker, royalty, the chief power of modern times, was growing stronger. Richelieu had the genius to continue the work of Louis XI, of Francis I and of Henry IV; but his ministry was preceded by fourteen troubled years which came near reversing their gains. The feeble regent, Marie de Medici, abandoned both the foreign and domestic policy of Henry IV. Her favorite Concini alienated the nobles, who revolted in order to force her to purchase their submission by offices and pensions. Then, to disguise their covetousness as a desire for the public welfare, they exacted the convocation of the States General, the last which was convoked before the French Revolution. At this assembly the Third Estate or the Commons showed a remarkable appreciation of the needs of the country. The nobility displayed its insulting contempt for the people, and the court its disdain for reforms. A second rebellion headed by Condé was appeased by bribes to the leaders. Finally Concini was killed and his wife, Eleanor Galigai, burned alive on accusation of having bewitched the queen mother by magic spells.

Louis XIII and his favorite, the Duke de Luynes, governed no better. The nobles now rebelled in behalf of the mother against the son. A more serious war broke out in 1621. Incensed by the order to restore the ecclesiastical property which some of the reformers had seized, the Protestants revolted. They planned to found in the marshes of Aunis a French Holland, of which La Rochelle was to be the Amsterdam. De Luynes, who had appointed himself Constable of France, laid siege to Montauban. He failed

and was himself carried off by a malignant fever. The king succeeded the following year in expelling Soubise from the Isle of Ré and the Protestants sued for peace. The treaty of Montpellier confirmed the edict of Nantes, granted them La Rochelle and Montauban as cities of refuge, but forbade their holding any public meeting without the king's authorization.

Richelieu humbles the Protestants and the High Nobility.

— Richelieu was raised to the ministry (1624) by the reviving influence of Marie de Medici. He resumed the grand policy of Louis XI and Henry IV. His twofold object was at home to destroy the power of the nobility and the independence of the Protestants, and abroad to humble the house of Austria. Like Louis XI he began too eagerly, but moderated his pace in time and attacked his different enemies in succession. Two treaties with the Protestants and Spain enabled him to turn all his forces against the nobles, whom he smote with terrible sentences. Marshal d'Ornano was thrown into the Bastille; the Count de Chalais was beheaded as a conspirator; Bouteville, Montmorency and the Marquis de Beuvron were executed for duelling. At the same time the terrible cardinal deprived the nobles of the high dignities which gave them too much influence. The office of constable was abolished and that of grand admiral was brought in.

These acts of severity made the nobles pause. Richelieu found himself free to end with the French Protestants who were upheld by England, although by marrying Henrietta of France to the English king, Charles I, he had flattered himself that he could prevent any such alliance. La Rochelle was besieged. An immense dike closed the port to the English fleets. After the most heroic resistance, when out of 30,000 inhabitants only 5000 remained, this capital of French Protestantism opened its gates (1628). The peace of Alais left to the Protestants the civil guarantees and the religious liberty which the edict of Nantes had given them, but their strongholds were dismantled. They ceased to form a state within the state, and the political unity of France was definitely reestablished. "You will see," said Marshal de Bassompierre, "that we shall be fools enough to capture La Rochelle."

The nobles were fully aware that royalty, no longer disquieted by the Protestants, would so act as to rid itself of

future anxiety on the score of the *grandeés*. Richelieu in fact was obliged all his life to stifle their plots. No sooner was La Rochelle subdued than they formed about the king a cabal led by Marie de Medici, who did not find her former confessor, Richelieu, sufficiently docile. When common rumor reported him fallen in disgrace, a final interview with Louis XIII restored to him all his influence. The victims of that "Day of Dupes" were Marshal de Marillac, beheaded for extortion, and Marie de Medici, who retired into exile at Brussels (1631). After the king's mother, the king's brother Gaston d'Orleans incited to rebellion the Duke de Montmorency, whom he basely abandoned, and who on being made prisoner at the battle of Castelnaudary, died on the scaffold (1632). Another civil war undertaken by the Count of Soissons, a member of the house of Condé, suddenly ended with the death of that prince, who was slain at the battle of La Marfée (1641). The final conspiracy, that of Cinq Mars, might have succeeded, had not that favorite of Louis XIII ruined himself by signing a treaty with Spain. Cinq Mars was executed, together with De Thou, his too faithful friend (1642).

The great minister died during the following year. At home he had overcome every obstacle to the royal authority. Without equalling Sully, he had introduced some order into the finances. He had destroyed many feudal fortresses, and by the creation of intendants (1635) had diminished the hitherto excessive authority of the provincial governors. Abroad his services had been still more illustrious, as we have seen in the history of the Thirty Years' War.

Mazarin and the Fronde. — On the death of Louis XIII, France had again to undergo the reign of a minor. Louis XIV was only five years of age. His mother, Anne of Austria, made Parliament intrust her with the regency contrary to the late king's will, which gave the power to a council. The regent confided the authority to Mazarin, a shrewd and supple minded Italian, obstinate rather than great. Sent as papal nuncio to France, he had been distinguished by Richelieu, who caused his nomination as a cardinal.

A reaction against the severe government of Richelieu immediately set in. Pensions, honors and privileges were lavished by the "Good Queen," but they did not restrain

the great lords, some of whom formed the cabal of "the Consequential Persons." The regent, or rather Mazarin, perceived the danger in time. Beaufort was sent to the Bastile, and Vendome, Duchess de Chevreuse, and the rest "to their country houses."

The finances were in extreme disorder. Mazarin had neither financial instinct nor the necessary degree of self-sacrifice. To obtain money two unpopular edicts were issued. Mazarin demanded from the sovereign courts their salaries for four years as a loan. This time the Parliament flew into a rage and undertook to play the part which the English Parliament had just assumed as reformer of the state. It proposed for the royal sanction twenty-seven articles, which forbade the collection of taxes until they had been verified and registered, abolished the office of the intendants, and prohibited any servant of the king being detained in durance for more than twenty-four hours without examination. Just then Condé won the victory of Lens. Mazarin, emboldened by this great success, had three councillors, Charton, Blancmesnil and Broussel, arrested during the *Te Deum* (1648). Immediately the people rose; 200 barricades were constructed, and the court in order to gain time sanctioned the demands of Parliament. At that moment the treaty of Westphalia was being signed.

When peace was concluded with Austria, the regent summoned Condé to her presence. Immediately the parliament party began raising troops. They were joined by many of the intriguing and covetous nobles. The soul of the movement was Paul de Gondi, afterwards archbishop of Paris and later on Cardinal de Retz, who boasted of having studied the art of plotting in Sallust and Plutarch, and who had himself written the conspiracy of Fiesco. He flattered himself that he could force the court to appoint him as successor of Richelieu by creating himself a party among the people, as though the people already had a part to play. He was a talker and made adroit use of the Duke of Beaufort, grandson of Henry IV, a popular man despite his emptiness of mind, who was called the king of the markets but who could not be anything more. After a short war in which the insurgents were constantly beaten, peace was signed at Ruel (1649).

This is the famous war of the Fronde, so called from a child's game. The haughty Condé, who had won the

victory for the court, rendered himself unendurable to the queen and to Mazarin who had him arrested. The provincial nobility took up arms in favor of the rebellious prince, and Turenne, drawn into rebellion by his passion for the Duchess de Longueville, was vanquished at Rethel by the royal troops. Thus Mazarin was triumphant, when Paul de Gondi, incensed at failing to obtain the cardinal's hat which had been promised him, rekindled the war of the Fronde. Mazarin was obliged to flee to Liège (1651). Fortunately Turenne returned to his allegiance and saved the king by his skill at Bléneau and at the battle of the Faubourg Saint Antoine (1652). Condé was compelled to flee to Flanders and entered the Spanish service. The Fronde was ended (1653). Two years afterwards, when Parliament wished to oppose the registration of several edicts, the young king, booted and whip in hand on his way from the chase, entered the hall and forbade that assembly to continue its deliberations.

Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659). — Peace being established at home, war abroad was prosecuted with energy. Turenne forced the Spanish lines before Arras (1654) and then won the battle of the Downs, which opened to him the Netherlands (1658). Several months later Mazarin signed the treaty of the Pyrenees (1659). Spain renounced Roussillon, Cerdagne and Artois. The Infanta Maria Theresa married Louis XIV, renouncing all claims on the crown of Spain, but Mazarin so managed matters that the renunciation should be void. In the preceding year he had concluded with many German princes the league of the Rhine, which Napoleon renewed a century and a half afterwards, though without greater profit to France.

Mazarin died in 1661. His administration without being grand had been clever. His financial management, disastrous for the treasury, had been lucrative for him and his friends. Nevertheless he left royalty free from all domestic obstacles, and France glorious in politics and arms, and even in letters and arts. Corneille, Descartes, Pascal and Poussin had long before begun what is called the century of Louis XIV.

XVII

ENGLAND FROM 1603 TO 1674

Europe in 1661.—Thus France was entering upon the most brilliant reign of her old monarchy. Meanwhile the two defeated powers of the religious wars, Spain and Austria, were dressing their wounds: the former listlessly, for she remained thirty-five years under a moribund king; the latter with the energy which Hungarian turbulence and the nearness of the Ottomans imposed, yet without either brilliancy or grandeur because of the insignificance of her princes. In Eastern Europe other ambitions were in motion, the Swedes against the Danes, the Russians against the Poles. From the midst of these contentions the Elector of Brandenburg was trying to reap a harvest. The Turks from time to time were making terrible invasions, the last threats of an exhausted and declining power. The attention of mankind was not as yet seriously attracted in that direction, but was already fixed upon Louis XIV.

On examining the history of England during the Thirty Years' War we shall perceive that to the humiliation of the house of Austria in its Spanish and imperial branches corresponds the political abasement of Great Britain during the same period, condemned to civil war or impotency by the secret or avowed Catholicism of its kings.

Accession of the Stuarts.—James VI of Scotland, the son of Mary Stuart and great-grandson of Henry VII, succeeded Elizabeth in 1603. He wore the two crowns without as yet uniting the two states in one. He abandoned the Protestant policy which in the preceding reign had saved England. He refused to coöperate in the projects of Henry IV, sought alliance with Spain and remained almost indifferent to the ruin of his son-in-law, the elector palatine. Nevertheless he upheld Anglicanism against the Catholics, who formed the Gunpowder Plot (1615), and against the Non-Conformists, whom he persecuted without pity. "No bishop, no king," said he with reason. Elizabeth had bequeathed

to him absolute power. But a firm and glorious hand is required to exercise unfettered authority and under a vain and feeble prince Parliament was no longer docile. In vain did James send five deputies to the Tower in 1614. The Commons refused subsidies. In order to obtain money which his extravagance rendered necessary, he had recourse to the most shameful traffic, put the court offices and judicial functions up at auction, created and sold titles, and then wasted the riches shamefully acquired upon greedy favorites, of whom the most notorious was George Villiers, Marquis of Buckingham.

When the Thirty Years' War broke out, James took advantage of the perils which Protestantism in Germany was incurring to summon a new Parliament. But the Commons granted subsidies only on condition that justice should be done to the nation's grievances. The old spirit of liberty, repressed by the Tudors, was awakening. The king again dissolved the assembly (1622). Allured by the bait of a rich dowry, he sought for his son the hand of an infanta of Spain. This was a fresh outrage to the keenest feelings of the English people, but the plan failed, thanks to the folly of Buckingham. The marriage of the Prince of Wales with Henrietta of France, sister of Louis XIII, was almost as unpopular, because it placed a Catholic princess upon the throne of England. James I died in 1625. He published the *True Law of Free Monarchy* wherein he expounded the divine right of kings. The Anglican clergy, in its canons of 1608 erecting this right into a dogma, made absolute obedience to the reigning prince an article of faith. Thus the alliance of the altar and the throne against the public liberties was everywhere ratified, even in the heart of the Reformation.

Charles I (1625-1649). — Charles I, a prince of sedate and pure character, thus found himself from childhood imbued with the principles of despotism. His wife showed the Catholics a preference which wounded the nation. Buckingham, who had contrived to remain the favorite of the son as he had been the favorite of the father, retained an influence which diminished the respect of the country for the king. The struggle with the Commons immediately began afresh. This assembly was composed of the younger sons of the nobility and of citizens of the middle class, who, having grown rich under Elizabeth and James, filled all the

liberal professions. It was the practice to vote the customs duties for the whole duration of the reign. The lower Chamber granted them only for one year and Charles in anger dismissed the assembly. The Parliament of 1626 went still farther. It impeached Buckingham and was immediately prorogued. In the hope of acquiring some popularity Buckingham persuaded Charles I to support the Protestants of France and conducted a fleet to the rescue of La Rochelle. The expedition failed through the incapacity of the general (1627).

This check encouraged the Commons, who forced the king to give his sanction to the Petition of Right and addressed to him two remonstrances, one against the illegal collection of the customs duties, the other against his favorite, who was described as the author of the public wretchedness. The king again prorogued Parliament, and John Felton, a fanatic, assassinated Buckingham (1628). Charles then called to the ministry Archbishop Laud and the Earl of Strafford, and decided to govern without a Parliament, that is to say, contrary to the spirit of the British constitution.

But without Parliament there were no subsidies, and consequently no means of taking part in the great events which were agitating Europe. This inaction discredited the English government in the eyes of its own subjects. The enormous fines imposed upon opponents and the cruelty of Laud toward the dissenters, as in torturing Leighton and Prynne, intensified the general discontent. The prevailing sentiment was manifest in the intense sympathy shown John Hampden when he opposed the tax of ship-money by legal resistance (1636). Scotland had been attacked in its Presbyterian polity by Laud. It protested by an insurrection at Edinburgh (1637), and formed the political and religious league of the Covenant (1638), against which the English army led by Strafford refused to fight (1640).

After eleven years without the Chambers, the king confessed himself vanquished and convoked a fourth Parliament. It refused the least subsidy until justice should be done to the complaints of the nation, and was speedily prorogued. Compelled by necessity the king assembled a fifth Parliament (1640), which is famous in history as the Long Parliament. Exceeding its original purpose, it took charge of the taxes and of the judicial authority, abolished extraordinary tribunals, proclaimed its own peri-

odical character, and impeached of high crimes the Earl of Strafford, whose head fell upon the block (1641). Meanwhile a formidable insurrection broke out among the Irish, who slew 40,000 Protestants. When the king asked for means to reduce the rebels, Parliament replied by bitter remonstrances, and voted the militia bill, which put the army under its own control. Charles endeavored to arrest the leaders of the opposition in the very midst of the assembly. Failing in his purpose he quitted London to begin the civil war (1642).

The Civil War (1642-1647). — Parliament held the capital, the great cities, the seaports and the fleet. The king was followed by most of the nobility, who were better trained to arms than the burgher militia. In the northern and western counties the Royalists or Cavaliers were in the majority. The Parliamentarians or Roundheads predominated in the east; the centre and the southeast, which were the richest sections, were close together, and formed a sort of belt round London. At first the king had the advantage. From Nottingham, where he had raised his standard, he marched upon London. The Parliamentarians, defeated at Edge Hill and Worcester (1642), redoubled their energy. Hampden raised a regiment of infantry among his tenants, friends and neighbors. Oliver Cromwell, then beginning to emerge from obscurity, formed in the eastern counties from the sons of farmers and small landed proprietors select squadrons, who opposed religious enthusiasm to the sentiments of honor which animated the Cavaliers. The Parliamentarians, victorious at Newbury, allied themselves with the Scotch by a solemn covenant.

Parliament was composed of various parties. The chief were Presbyterians, who though abolishing grades in the Church wished to preserve them in the state, and the Independents, who rejected both the peerage and the episcopacy, both the temporal and religious sovereignty of the king. Around the latter were the numerous sects derived from Puritanism, such as Levellers, Anabaptists and Millenarians. Their leaders were clever men. Ablest of all was Oliver Cromwell, an ambitious and sphinx-like genius, a politician and an enthusiast. With his squadrons surnamed Ironsides, he won the battle of Marston Moor in 1644 and then that of Newbury, which saved the revolution. These successes helped the Independents, although a minority in Parlia-

ment, to pass the self-denying ordinance which excluded the deputies from public affairs. This was equivalent to handing over the army to the Independents. Cromwell then prosecuted the war with vigor. The king's last army was crushed at Naseby (1645), while his lieutenant Montrose was beaten by the Scotch Covenanters. The disheartened king withdrew through weariness to the camp of the Scotch, who sold him to Parliament for 400,000 pounds sterling (1647).

Execution of Charles I (1649).—The Presbyterians would gladly have treated with their captive. Supported by the army, Cromwell "purged" Parliament of the Presbyterian deputies, and the Independents cited the king before a court of justice, which sent him to the scaffold (January 30, 1649). His bloody death caused his acts of violence and perfidy to be forgotten. It revived the monarchical creed of England and royalty again became popular on the day when the head of the king rolled from under the axe of the executioner.

The Commonwealth of England (1649-1660). Cromwell.—The Republic was proclaimed. Catholic Ireland and Scotland, who remembered that the Stuarts were of Scottish race, protested against the revolution which had been accomplished. Cromwell subdued the former by an atrocious war. By the victories of Dunbar and Worcester, he forced the latter to recognize the authority of the Parliament of London (1651). The new government announced its foreign policy by the daring but sagacious Navigation Act. Thereby it prohibited the entrance into English ports of all vessels laden with merchandise, not produced on the soil or by the people whose flag the vessel bore. This act remained in force until January 1, 1850. In consequence England was forced to develop her manufactures and her marine. To the Dutch, "the teamsters of the sea," this measure meant ruin, and they declared war but were defeated.

The country was tired of the Long Parliament, now called the Rump. One day Cromwell went to the hall of session, announced to the deputies that God was no longer with them, and had them driven out by his soldiers, who fastened to the door this notice, "House to let" (1653). But some time later he formed another Parliament, which he declared convoked in the name of the Holy Spirit and which he soon dissolved. Then he had himself proclaimed Lord Protector. He was king without the name. He employed his power

for the welfare and greatness of his country. At home he ensured order and developed commerce and industry. Abroad he beheld his alliance entreated by Spain and sought by France. Blake, his admiral, thrice defeated the Dutch and forced them to abandon hope of provisioning the English market. The Spaniards lost their galleons as well as Jamaica and Dunkirk. The Barbary States were chastised; the Pope was threatened with hearing "the English cannon thunder at the Castle of San Angelo" if his persecution of the Reformed Party did not cease. Thus Cromwell resumed the rôle which the Stuarts had abandoned and which Louis XIV was about to abandon, of defender of Protestant interests. Unfortunately for England he retained power only five years (1658). His son Richard succeeded, but could not replace him and abdicated after a few months. England relapsed into anarchy. The clever General Monk paved the way for the return of monarchy. He dissolved the Rump Parliament, which had again assembled, formed a Parliament devoted to himself, and the combined Tories and Whigs recalled the Stuarts without conditions (1660).

It was an error to declare that twenty years of revolution had passed over England in vain, and to believe that the ancient order of things could be reëstablished unchanged. That mistake was soon to render necessary a second revolution. Moreover the despotism of the Tudors was not according to the ancient order of things, for the oldest thing in England was public liberty, which had been temporarily eclipsed by the fatigue of thirty years' warfare during the struggle of the Roses. Then had come the Reformation which had engrossed all minds, and the war with Philip II, when the very existence of England had been at stake. Confronted by such perils, the country had allowed the authority of its kings to increase. But now that Spain was dying and France no longer threatening and the religious questions definitely settled, England wished to reënter her ancient path.

Charles II (1660-1685). — Charles II seemed at first to understand the state of the popular mind. He remained faithful to Anglican Protestantism and permitted the Parliament to enjoy its ancient prerogatives. But frivolous and debauched, he soon found himself forced through need of money to make himself dependent upon the Commons

for the sake of receiving subsidies, or upon some foreign power for the purpose of obtaining therefrom a pension. His choice was quickly made. The spectacle of France and of her king revived in him the despotic instincts of his fathers. The dread of Parliament, of its remonstrances and its complaints, threw him into the arms of Louis XIV. He sold to him *Mardick* and *Dunkirk*, two of Cromwell's conquests (1662). After the triple alliance of *The Hague* (1666), which his people imposed upon him that they might arrest France in the Netherlands, he sold himself. Louis paid him a pension of 2,000,000 francs until his death.

But the fear of anarchy, which in 1660 had prostrated England at the feet of Charles II, had vanished. Little by little, there had been formed in the heart of the nation and in Parliament an opposition, which in 1674 was strong enough to extort the *Test Bill*. This bill was the prelude to the second and imminent revolution. Let us pause for a time at this point in the history of Charles II. Under him during the first part of the reign of Louis XIV, England counted no more in continental affairs than did Spain or the empire. Later on we shall trace the events which will hurl the Stuarts from the throne and give to Great Britain the leadership in the opposition to France.

XVIII

LOUIS XIV FROM 1661 TO 1685

Colbert.— After the death of Mazarin Louis XIV announced his intention of governing without any prime minister. This sovereign, then aged twenty-four, throughout his after life kept the pledge which he had taken to exercise manfully his royal trade. His was not a great intellect, and yet despite his faults he was a great king. At least during the first half of his reign, he practised the chief art of sovereigns, which is to understand how to choose good depositaries of their power.

Colbert, intrusted from 1661 to 1683 with the finances, agriculture, commerce, manufactures and the navy, caused all these branches of the national activity to prosper. The period of his ministry is the most glorious in the reign of Louis XIV, for he moderated the king's ambition and developed the national forces. He found a debt of 430,000,000 francs, the revenues expended two years in advance, and the treasury receiving only 35,000,000 out of the 84,000,000 of annual taxes. He severely investigated cases of fraud, reduced such taxes as were imposed only on the humbler classes, but increased the indirect imposts which every one paid. Every year he drew up a sort of national budget, and raised the net revenue of the treasury to 89,000,000. He encouraged industry by subsidies, and protected it by tariffs which imposed heavy duties upon similar products from abroad.

In order to facilitate business and transportation internal customs-duties were abolished in many provinces, highways were repaired or created, and the canal of Languedoc was constructed between the ocean and the Mediterranean. He organized the five great commercial companies of the East Indies, the West Indies, the Levant, Senegal and the North, which competed with the merchants of London and Amsterdam; and he encouraged the merchant marine by bounties. The military marine developed such vigorous life that in

1692 it became possible to equip more than 300 vessels of all sizes. Thanks to the Maritime Inscription, which furnished 70,000 mariners, the recruiting of the crews was ensured. The port of Rochefort was created, that of Dunkirk was bought back from the English, Brest and Toulon were enlarged, and a magnificent colonial empire, founded in the Antilles and in North America, would have delivered that continent to French influence had men understood how to carry out the plans of the great minister.

Louvois. — At the same time Louvois was organizing the army, which he compelled to wear a uniform. He created the companies of grenadiers and hussar corps, and introduced the bayonet. He founded the artillery schools of Douai, Metz and Strasburg, organized thirty regiments of militia which the communes equipped, and companies of cadets, in which originated the school of Saint Cyr and the Polytechnique. Furthermore he subjected even officers of noble birth to strict discipline. A great engineer and patriotic citizen, Vauban, fortified the frontiers.

War with Flanders (1667). — Louis XIV, dazzled by the forces which two clever ministers placed at his disposal, conducted himself arrogantly toward all the foreign powers. He exacted from the Pope and from the king of Spain ample satisfaction for insults to the French ambassadors, chastised the corsairs of Tunis and Algiers, and, abandoning the policy of Francis I, sent 6000 men to aid the emperor against the Ottomans, and thus made himself ostensibly the protector of the empire. At the death of Philip IV, availing himself of the right of devolution in force in Brabant, he claimed to inherit the Spanish Netherlands through his wife, Maria Theresa, the eldest sister of the new king of Spain, Charles II. Holland and England were at first neutral. Spain thus left alone could not defend herself. The French armies in three months' time captured the strongholds of western Flanders, and in seventeen days in the depth of winter overran all Franche-Comté (1668). Then the maritime powers took the alarm. Holland, England and Sweden concluded the triple alliance of The Hague. As the king lacked audacity on the one day when it was most essential, he signed the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which left him only a dozen such towns as Charleroy, Douai, Tournay, Oudenarde and Lille (1668).

The War with Holland (1672). — Four years of peace

were employed in preparing a terrible storm against a little country, Holland. Colbert, who wished to develop the maritime commerce of France, grew anxious at the 15,000 merchant vessels of the Dutch. Moreover, when he imposed exorbitant duties on their cloths, they retaliated by onerous duties on French wines and brandies. Therefore Colbert did not oppose a war which seemed likely to rid French commerce of a formidable rival. Louvois desired war to render himself necessary. Louis XIV declared it that he might humble those republicans who had just placed a check on his good fortune. Thereby he abandoned the policy of Henry IV and of Richelieu, which was the protection of small states and of Protestantism and opposition to useless conquests. Louis XIV, however, was far more the successor of Philip II than the heir of Henry IV and of the great cardinal.

Having subsidized Sweden and England, he suddenly deluged (1672) Holland with 100,000 men commanded by Turenne and Condé. The Rhine was passed. All the strongholds opened their gates and the French encamped at four leagues' distance from Amsterdam. But the delays of Louis XIV saved the Dutch. They deposed and murdered their Grand Pensioner, Jan de Witt, put in his place as stadtholder William of Orange, who opened the locks, flooded the country and forced the invaders to retreat before the inundation. At the same time he formed a formidable coalition against Louis. Spain, the emperor, many German princes, and even England, though her king was pensioned by Louis, joined Holland.

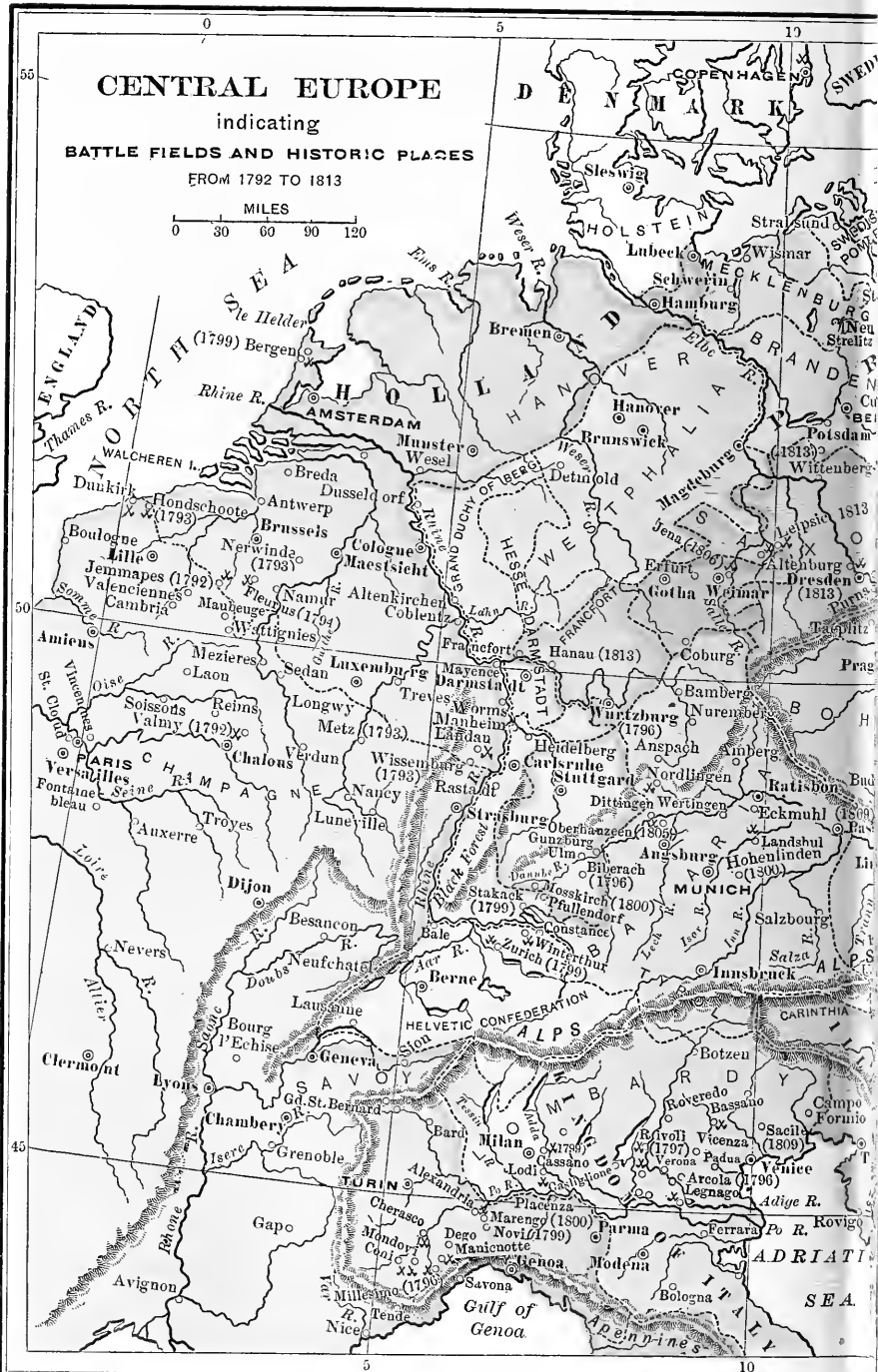
France made headway everywhere. The king in person subjugated Franche-Comté (1674). Turenne by an admirable campaign drove the imperialists out of Alsace; but was killed himself the following year. Condé after the bloody battle of Senef no longer commanded an army, and Luxembourg and Crequi were poor substitutes for the two great generals. Meanwhile the invasion of France, on the north by the Spaniards, and on the east by the imperialists, was repulsed. Duquesne and d'Estrées defeated the fleets of Holland and ravaged her colonies. His abandonment by England decided Louis to accept the treaty of Nimeguen which awarded him Franche-Comté with fourteen Flemish strongholds, and forced Denmark and Brandenburg to restore all the conquests which they had made from Sweden. Thus

France emerged greater than before from a struggle with all Europe. The French northern and eastern frontiers became farther from Paris. But this proudest period of the reign was also the point of departure for the calamities which were soon to follow. The war with Holland had directed against France the coalitions which France had formerly organized against Austria, and had founded the good fortune of William of Orange, who a few years afterwards became king of England.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). — Thus that war was a first mistake. Other similar mistakes were sure to follow, for after the death of Colbert in 1683 the hard and narrow influence of Louvois and of Madame de Maintenon was no longer counteracted. "If it hath not pleased God," said Henry IV, in the preamble to the edict of Nantes, "to permit His Holy Name to be adored by all our subjects in one and the same form of religion, let it at least be adored with the same intent . . . ; and pray ye unto the Divine Goodness that He may make men understand that in the observance of this ordinance exists the principal foundation of their union, tranquillity and repose, and of the re-establishment of this State in its pristine splendor." These glowing words had worthily inaugurated the new era which Richelieu and Mazarin continued abroad by their Protestant alliances, and at home by their respect for religious liberty.

But Louis XIV, intoxicated with his omnipotence and led astray by the fatal counsels of a party, which during three centuries had ruined every cause which it defended, undertook to repudiate the toleration of Henry IV as he had repudiated his diplomacy. As he allowed in his kingdom but one will, his own, and but one law, that of the absolute prince, so he wished that there should be but one religion, Catholicism. To convert the Protestants he first sent into the cantons where they were numerous booted missionaries or the dragonades. In 1685 he officially revoked the edict of Nantes. The Reformers were bound to undergo conversion or to leave the kingdom. Their children were taken from them by force to be reared in the Catholic Church. They had furnished to French industries its most skilful workmen. Two or three hundred thousand quitted the kingdom, among whom were 9000 sailors, 12,000 soldiers, and 600 officers. One suburb of London was peopled by

these refugees. Berlin and Brandenburg welcomed great numbers. Foreigners became possessed of the secrets of the French manufactures. Among the learned men who during the last century and a half have been the honor of Holland, Germany, England and even of Italy, there are many descendants of the exiles of Louis XIV.





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XIX

THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION

(1688)

Awakening of Liberal Ideas in England (1673-1679).—

The reply of the Protestant powers to the revocation of the edict of Nantes was the English revolution, which hurled from the throne the Catholic James II and placed thereon the Calvinist William III.

Charles II had hired himself out to Louis XIV, but England had not ratified the bargain. In 1668 she forced her king to join the Swedes and Dutch in rescuing the Spanish Netherlands. Again in 1674 she compelled him to renounce the French alliance, and then by opposing France to bring about the peace of Nimeguen. The king, defeated on a political question, was defeated again on a question of religion. He was suspected of favoring Catholicism. Therefore Parliament voted the Test Bill, which obliged officials to declare under oath that they did not believe in transubstantiation. Thus public employment was closed to Catholics and their exclusion lasted until 1829. The Popish plot, imagined by the wretched Titus Oates, and the memory of the fire of London in 1666 which had been attributed to the Catholics, provoked extremely rigorous measures. Eight Jesuits were hanged. Viscount Stafford was beheaded in spite of his seventy years, and the Duke of York, the king's brother, who had abjured Protestantism, was threatened with deprivation of his rights to the crown. In order to restrain the royal despotism the Whigs or liberals who controlled Parliament passed the famous bill of habeas corpus in 1679, which confirmed the law of personal security written in Magna Charta, and so often violated. Every prisoner must be examined by the judge within twenty-four hours after his arrest, and released or set at liberty under bail if the proofs were insufficient.

Catholic and Absolutist Reaction. James II (1685).—

Thus Parliament at the same time repressed the dissenters and the court. The English were peacefully effecting their internal revolution when the violent put everything in peril. The Puritans rose in Scotland. They were crushed and a new Test Bill imposed upon the Scotch passive obedience to the king. At London a conspiracy to prevent the Duke of York from succeeding his brother led to the execution of many Whig chiefs and to the exile of others. Thus the liberal party was defeated. So James II quietly took possession of the throne in 1685, the year when the edict of Nantes was revoked. His nephew Monmouth and the Duke of Argyle tried hard to overthrow him, but both perished after the defeat of Sedgemoor, and the odious Jeffries sent many of their partisans to the block. If the Anglican clergy and those among the aristocracy who were called Tories or conservatives were disposed to pardon the Stuarts for their despotism, they had no intention of allowing royalty by right divine, *a deo rex, a rege lex*, to bring back Catholicism which surely would demand restitution of the immense church property which they had seized. When James sent to the Vatican a solemn embassy to reconcile England with the Roman Church, the archbishop of Canterbury protested. He was thrown into the tower with six of his suffragans.

Fall of James II (1688). Declaration of Rights. William III (1689).— These acts of violence together with the birth in 1688 of a Prince of Wales whose mother was an Italian Catholic, and whose rights of inheritance would precede those of the Calvinist William of Orange, the son-in-law of James II, made the stadtholder of Holland accede to the propositions of the Whigs. James deserted by all fled to France, and Parliament proclaimed William III king. It first made him sign the Declaration of Rights, which substituted royalty by consent for royalty by divine right, and which contained nearly all the guarantees of a free government: the periodical convocation of Parliament, the voting of taxes, laws made by the joint consent of the Chambers and the king, and the right of petition. A few months later Locke, one of those whom James II had persecuted, set forth the theory of the revolution of 1688, by recognizing national sovereignty and liberty as the sole legitimate and durable principles of a government.

A New Political Right.— Thus a new right, that of the

people, arose in modern society in opposition to the absolute right of kings, and humanity entered upon a new stage of its journey. Feudalism had been an advance over Carolingian barbarism. Royalty had been likewise an advance over mediæval feudalism. After having constituted the modern nations, developed commerce and industry, favored the blossoming of the arts and letters, royalty undertook to render its absolute right eternal, and demanded of the Catholic Church to aid it in maintaining itself therein. England had the good fortune, thanks to her insular position and to her traditions, to grasp the principle which was destined to be that of the future. To her wisdom she already owes two centuries of tranquillity amid the ruins which have been crumbling around her.

XX

COALITIONS AGAINST FRANCE

(1688-1714)

Formation of the League of Augsburg (1686).—In the sixteenth century and in the first half of the seventeenth, France took in hand the defence of Protestantism and of the general liberties of Europe against the Hapsburgs of Madrid and of Vienna and against the ultramontanism of the Vatican. But with Louis XIV she threatened the conscience of the adherents of the Reformation and the independence of states. England took up the rôle which France was abandoning and grew mighty in it, as had done Henry IV and Richelieu.

While the Protestants who had been expelled from France carried in all directions their resentment against Louis, he wantonly braved Europe by aggressions made in time of peace. By duplicity he gained possession of twenty cities, among which was Strasburg (1681). He treated the Pope with arrogance and compelled the Doge of Genoa to come and humble himself at Versailles. He bought Casal in Italy so as to dominate the valley of the Po, claimed a part of the Palatinate as the dowry of his sister-in-law, opposed the installation of the archbishop of Cologne, and occupied Bonn, Neuss and Kaiserwerth. The Powers, rendered uneasy by such ambition, formed as early as 1686 the League of Augsburg which England joined in 1689.

War of the League of Augsburg (1689-1697).—Louis directed his first blows against William. He gave James II a magnificent reception, and furnished him with a fleet and army, which landed in Ireland but lost the battle of the Boyne. Tourville, forced by the king's orders to attack ninety-nine vessels with forty-four, suffered the disaster of La Hogue (1692). Thenceforth the sea belonged to the English and French commerce was at their mercy despite the exploits of bold captains like Jean Bart. On land the

French maintained the advantage. Luxemburg beat the allies at Fleurus, and Neerwinden. Catinat occupied Piedmont and assured its possession by the victories of Staffarde and La Marsaille. But France was exhausting herself in an unequal struggle. "Half of the kingdom," wrote Vauban, "lives on the alms of the other half." Moreover Charles II of Spain was dying. The Spanish succession was at last about to be thrown open, and Europe needed repose in order to prepare herself for this event. Hoping to obtain peace, Louis instigated dissensions among his enemies. The desertion of the Duke of Savoy, to whom his states and even Pignerol were restored, induced the allies to sign the treaty of Ryswick (1697). Louis XIV recognized William III as king of England, restored to the empire with the exception of Alsace whatever had been awarded him, put the Duke of Lorraine again in possession of his duchy, but kept the west of San Domingo, Landau and Sarrelouis.

War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714). — At Madrid the elder branch of the house of Austria was about to become extinct. France, Austria and Bavaria each disputed the inheritance of Charles II. Louis XIV asserted the rights of his wife, Maria Theresa, the eldest child of Philip IV. Leopold I had married her younger sister, Margarita. The Elector of Bavaria laid claim in the name of his minor son, the grandson of this same Margarita. The first plan for the partition of the Spanish monarchy, favorably entertained by William, was rejected by Charles II who preferred the boy Duke of Bavaria. That youth died. France and Austria being thus left as the only claimants, Charles by a will bequeathed his estates to the Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV, in the hope of preserving the integrity of his monarchy.

Europe was alarmed at this added greatness of the French Bourbons. Louis XIV alarmed it still more by preserving for the new king, Philip V, his rights of eventual succession to the crown of Saint Louis. Such succession would have reëstablished to the advantage of France the enormous power of Charles V. Louis posted French garrisons in the Spanish Netherlands to the great consternation of Holland. Then on the death of James II he recognized his son as king of England, thereby openly violating the treaty of Ryswick (1701). A new league was soon concluded at The

Hague between England and the United Provinces. Prussia, the empire, Portugal and even the Duke of Savoy, the father-in-law of Philip V, successively joined it (1701-1703). Three superior men, Heinsius, Grand Pensioner of Holland, Marlborough, leader of the Whig party in England, a clever diplomat and great general, and Prince Eugene, a Frenchman who had emigrated to Austria, guided the coalition. France had Chamillart to replace Colbert and Louvois. Fortunately her generals, except the incapable Villeroy, were better than her ministers.

Austria began hostilities by reverses. Eugene was defeated at Luzzara by the Duke of Vendôme (1702), as was another imperial army at Friedlingen and at Hochstedt by Villars. But Marlborough landed in the Netherlands, and the Archduke Charles in Portugal. The Duke of Savoy deserted France and the Camisards rose in the Cevennes. The loss of the second terrible battle of Hochstedt or Blenheim drove the French out of Germany (1704). The battle of Ramillies gave the Netherlands to the allies; that of Turin gave them Milan and the kingdom of Naples (1706). Toulon was menaced (1707). To arrest the enemy in the Netherlands Louis XIV collected another magnificent army. It was put to rout at Oudenarde. Lille surrendered after two months of siege (1708). The winter of 1709 added its rigors to the French disasters and Louis sued for peace. The allies required that he should himself expel his grandson from Spain. He preferred to continue the fight. Villars had still 100,000 men. They were defeated at Malplaquet.

In the meantime Vendôme secured the throne of Spain to Philip V by the victory of Villaviciosa (1710), and the Archduke Charles, the candidate of the allies, became emperor of Germany by the death of his brother (1711). The European balance of power would have been disturbed in a much more threatening manner by his uniting to the imperial crown the crowns of Naples and Spain, than by Philip V at Madrid. Thus England had no more interest in this war. The Whigs who wished to continue it fell from power, and the Tory ministry that replaced them entered upon negotiations with France. Several months later the imperial army was beaten at Denain by Villars. This glorious victory hastened the conclusion of peace, which was signed at Utrecht, by England, Portugal, Savoy, Prussia and Holland (1713).

Treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt (1713-1714). — Louis accepted the succession as established in England by the revolution of 1688, ceded to the English the island of Newfoundland, pledged himself to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk and agreed that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united on one and the same head. Holland obtained the right of placing garrisons in most of the strongholds of the Spanish Netherlands so as to prevent their falling into the hands of France. The Duke of Savoy received Sicily with the title of king. The Elector of Brandenburg was recognized as king of Prussia, having just purchased that title from the emperor. The latter, left alone, continued the war, but the capture of Landau and Freiburg induced him to sign the treaty of Rastadt (1714) by which he acquired some of the foreign possessions of Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, Naples, Sardinia, Milan and the fortresses of Tuscany.

France made many sacrifices but Spain, no longer distracted by her Netherlands, became her natural ally instead of being as for two centuries her constant enemy. This change meant security on the southern French frontier and hence greater strength in the northeast. Louis XIV died shortly afterwards (1715). He had reigned seventy-two years.

Louis XIV the Personification of Monarchy by Divine Right. — He left the kingdom without commerce, without manufactures, drained of men and money, with a public debt which would amount at the present day to \$1,600,000,000. Thus the setting of that long reign did not fulfil the promise of its dawn. The acquisition of two provinces, Flanders and Franche-Comté, and of several cities, Strasburg, Landau and Dunkirk, was a small compensation for the frightful misery which France endured and which she might have been spared, had Louis remained faithful to the policy of Henry IV and of Richelieu. Moreover she had declined in just the same degree as others had risen. Spain had not recovered her strength. Austria still remained feeble. But two youthful royal houses, Sardinia and Prussia, formed in Italy and Germany the cornerstones of mighty edifices whose proportions could not as yet be described, and England already grasped the rôle, which she was to retain for a century and a half, of the preponderant power in Europe by virtue of her commerce, her navy, her colonies and her gold.

By the matchless brilliancy of his court, his magnificent festivals, his sumptuous buildings, his taste for arts and letters; by his lofty bearing, the dignity which he showed in everything, the serene confidence which he cherished in his rights and his superior intelligence, Louis was the most majestic incarnation of royalty. To him is attributed the saying: "I am the state." In consequence of the energetic centralization which placed all France at Versailles, and Versailles in the study of the prince, the saying was true. He firmly believed, and others believed with him, that the property as well as the lives of his subjects belonged to him; that he was their intelligence, their will, their spring of action; that is to say, that 20,000,000 of men lived in him and for him. But his errors, his vices, were sacred also, like those of the gods of Olympus whose images filled his palaces. At need the judiciary served his passions, the army his caprices, the public treasury his pleasures, and debauchery became a royal institution which conferred on the mistresses of the king rank at court.

Such a government might suit the Orient which knows only force and submits to it with resignation. It could not last in our Western world where humanity has come to consciousness of itself and of its lofty rights. By developing manufactures and commerce and consequently the fortunes of his people, and by favoring arts and letters or in other words the development of the mind, Louis himself paved the way for the formation of two new powers which were destined, first to undermine, then to overthrow his system.

XXI

ARTS, LETTERS AND SCIENCES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Letters and Arts in France.—The sixteenth century effected religious reform. The eighteenth was to effect political reform. Placed between these two revolutionary ages, the seventeenth was and has stood forth, especially in France, as the great literary epoch. The generations which live in stormy times rise higher and descend lower, but never reach that calm beauty which is the reflection of a peaceful yet fertile age, where art is its own end and its own recompense. Long before Louis XIV took the government in hand and reigned by himself (1661), France had already reaped half of the literary glory which the seventeenth century had in store. Many of her great writers had produced their masterpieces and nearly all were in full possession of their talent. The *Cid* was acted in 1636, and the *Discourse on Method* appeared in 1637.

Thus the magnificent harvest, then garnered by French intellect, germinated and fructified of itself. When under Henry IV and Richelieu, calm succeeded to the sterile agitation of religious struggles, intellectual questions took the precedence over those of war; and when several great men appeared, all the higher society followed them. People discussed a beautiful verse as formerly they had discussed a handsome gun. They would even have lost themselves in the mental refinements and elaborate subtleties of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, had it not been for the manly accents of Corneille and of his heroes, the supreme good sense of Molière, Boileau and La Fontaine, the biblical eloquence of Bossuet, the energy of Pascal and the penetrating grace of Racine. On that roll of honor let us also place the names of Madame de Sévigné for her *Letters*, of La Rochefoucauld for his *Maxims*, of La Bruyère for his *Characters*, of Fénelon for his *Télémaque*, of Saint Simon for his formidable *Memoirs* and of Bourdaloue for his *Sermons*.

Such learned men as Casaubon, Scaliger, Saumaise, du Cange, Baluze and the Benedictines illumined the confusion of our origin and gave us a better acquaintance with antiquity. Bayle continued the traditions of Rabelais and of Montaigne. Descartes was the great revolutionist of the time, demanding that the mind should banish all preëxisting ideas, so as to be free from all prejudice and all error and thus admit only such truths as evidence should invincibly force upon the reason. Through prudence Descartes veiled the eyes of his contemporaries to the consequences of his *Method*, yet that method became the essential condition of philosophical progress. It is the law of science and it will become the law of the world.

At that time France possessed four painters of high rank: Poussin, Lesueur, Claude Lorraine, and at some distance from them Lebrun; one admirable sculptor, Puget; the talented architects, Mansart and Perrault; and a clever musician, Lulli.

Letters and Arts in Other Countries. — In Italy there was literary as well as political decline. In Spain appeared Lope de Vega and Calderon. The *Don Quixote* of Cervantes belongs in date and subject to another century when men still thought of the Middle Ages, even though only with ridicule. Then England boasted her glorious literary age with Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden and Addison. Germany was passing through her age of iron. The Reformation, which had fallen into the hands of princes as Italian Catholicism had into the hands of the Jesuits, seems to have arrested thought.

The Dutch Grotius and the Swede Puffendorf settled the rights of peace and war according to the principles of humanity and justice. The English Hobbes, a pensioner of Charles II, maintained in his *Leviathan* that war was the natural state of humanity and that men needed a good despot to keep them from cutting each other's throats. This was the theory of absolute power according to philosophy, as Bossuet had expounded it according to religion. This doctrine was happily refuted by another philosopher, Locke, in his essay on *Civil Government*. Therein the councillor of William III demonstrated that civil society is subjected to the established power not otherwise than by the consent of the community. "The community," said he, "can set up whatever government it sees fit. That govern-

ment in order to conform to reason must fulfil two conditions: the first is, that the power of making the laws, binding upon the subjects as well as upon the monarch, ought to be separated from the power which executes them; the second is that no one shall be required to pay taxes without his consent, given personally or by his representatives." "Equality," he said, in another place, "is the equal right which each man has to liberty, so that no one is subjected to the will or authority of another." This treatise appeared in 1690, just a century before the French Revolution, of which Locke is one of the precursors. What is the necessity of common consent, established as a principle of all political society, but the recognition of the sovereignty of the nation! The ideas of the English philosopher, like those of Descartes, were destined to make progress slowly throughout the eighteenth century.

Two other philosophers deserve mention for their influence in the realm of metaphysics. They are the pantheist Spinoza, a Jew of Amsterdam, and Leibnitz, the universal genius.

In the arts the first rank then belonged to the Dutch and Flemish schools, represented by Rubens, Van Dyck, Rembrandt and the two Téniers. Spain possessed Velasquez, Murillo and Ribera, who left no heirs. Italy brought forth Guido and Bernini, who mark the decline against which nevertheless Salvator Rosa was a protest. England and Germany had not a single artist.

Science in the Seventeenth Century. — The universe is twofold. There is a moral and a physical world. Antiquity traversed the one in every direction. It extended and developed the faculties of which God has deposited the germs in our mortal clay. But of the physical world it knew almost nothing. This ignorance was destined to last so long as the true methods of investigation were unknown. They could be found only after men had become convinced that the universe is governed by the immutable laws of eternal wisdom and not by the arbitrary volitions of capricious powers. Alchemy, magic, astrology, all those follies of the Middle Ages, became sciences on the day when man, no longer halting at isolated phenomena, strove to grasp the laws themselves which produced them. That day began in the sixteenth century with Copernicus, but it is only in the seventeenth that the revolution was accomplished

and triumphant with Bacon and Galileo. The former proclaimed its necessity; the latter by his discoveries demonstrated its benefits.

At the head of the scientific movement of this century were Kepler of Wurtemberg, who proved the truth of Copernicus' system; Galileo of Pisa, who expiated in the cells of the Inquisition his demonstration of the motion of the earth; the Englishman Newton, who discovered the principal laws of optics and universal gravitation; Leibnitz, who disputes with him the honor of having created the differential calculus; Pascal, the inventor of the calculus of probabilities; Descartes, equally celebrated as a man of learning and a philosopher, for these mighty minds did not confine themselves to a single study.

In their train a throng of men entered eagerly upon the paths thus thrown open. Papin ascertains the power of steam as a motive force; Rømer, the velocity of light; Harvey, the circulation of the blood; and Cassini and Picard fix the meridian of Paris. To the thermometer constructed by Galileo, Toricelli adds the barometer, Huygens the pendulum clock, and science finds itself armed with precious instruments for investigation.

Thus in this century three countries were in full decline. They are Germany, which had Leibnitz but almost allowed Kepler to die of misery; Italy, which persecuted Galileo, and Spain, where we find only painters and playwrights. The two peoples, France and England, to whom strength and preponderance had passed, were on the contrary in the full tide of their literary age.

XXII

CREATION OF RUSSIA. DOWNFALL OF SWEDEN

The Northern States at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century. — The East and Northern Europe were an unknown region to the Romans and Greeks. In the Middle Ages, the activity of the nations was displayed in countries of the centre and west. The Slavs and Scandinavians remained generally apart, uninfluential and obscure. The Russians had been subjugated by the Mongols. After long silence the Swedes had burst upon the empire under Gustavus Adolphus like a thunderbolt. Thanks to their victories over the Germans, Poles and Russians, the Baltic at the middle of the eighteenth century was a Swedish lake surrounded by an extended line of fortified posts, but their domination was fragile. It was constructed in defiance of geography and was surrounded by enemies who had an interest in its ruin.

Poland still stretched from the Carpathians to the Baltic and from the Oder to the sources of the Dnieper and Volga, but its anarchical constitution and its elective royalty rendered it defenceless to the attacks of foreigners. An elector of Saxony was then king of Poland.

The Russians were cut off by the Swedes, the Poles and the duchy of Courland from access to the southern Baltic. Likewise they were separated on the south from the Black Sea by Tartar hordes and by the warrior republic of the Cossacks, unruly subjects of Poland. They were shut in from every direction except toward the desert regions of Siberia. When the powerful republic of Novgorod fell in 1476, their road was open to the Arctic Ocean and the eastern Baltic. By the destruction of the Tartars of Astrakan, they had reached the Caspian Sea. At the treaty of Vilna (1656) they forced from the Poles the cession of Smolensk, Tchernigoff and the Ukraine. This was their first step toward the West. They already possessed formidable elements of power. Ivan III had abolished in his family the

law of appanage, thereby establishing the unity of authority and of the state. On the other hand he had retained it among the nobility, which in consequence became divided and enfeebled. In the sixteenth century Ivan IV spent fifteen years in breaking the boyars to the yoke with that implacable cruelty which won for him the surname of the Terrible, and a ukase in 1593 reduced all peasants to the servitude of the soil by forbidding them to change master and land.

Peter the Great (1682).— He, who was destined to be the creator of Russia, in 1682, when ten years old, received the title of Tsar. Guided by the Genevese Lefort, who extolled to him the arts of the West, in 1697 he went to Saardam in Holland to there learn the art of building vessels. Afterwards he studied England and her manufactures, and Germany and her military organization. At Vienna the news reached him that the Strelitzi had revolted. He hurried to Moscow, had 2000 hanged or broken on the wheel and 5000 beheaded. Then he began his reforms. He organized regiments, in which he compelled the sons of the boyars to serve as soldiers before becoming officers. He founded schools in mathematics and astronomy, and a naval academy, and undertook to unite the Don and the Volga by a canal. A great war interrupted these achievements.

The preponderance of Sweden weighed upon her neighbors. At the death of the Swedish king, Charles XI, Russia, Denmark and Poland thought the time had come for despoiling his successor, Charles XII, a youth of eighteen, and for wresting from the Swedes their provinces on the Baltic (1700). "If Charles XII was not Alexander, he might have been Alexander's foremost soldier." He forestalled the attack by an impetuous invasion of Denmark. Then he marched rapidly against 80,000 Russians, whom he defeated with 8,000 Swedes at the battle of Narva, expelled the Saxons from Livonia, pursued them into Saxony, dethroned Augustus II and forced him by the treaty of Altranstädt to abdicate his Polish crown in favor of Stanislaus Lechzinski.

But while he was wasting five years in these successful but fruitless wars (1701-1706), in his rear Peter the Great was creating an empire and forming an army modelled upon what he had seen in the kingdoms of the West. Peter conquered Ingria and Carelia and founded Saint Petersburg

(1703), so as to take possession of the Gulf of Finland. Charles XII then returned against him. While trying to effect a junction with Mazeppa, the Hetman of the Cossacks, who had promised him 100,000 men, he lost his way in the marshes of Pinsk and afforded the Tsar time to crush a Swedish relief force. The cruel winter of 1709 increased his distress. His defeat at Poltava (1709) forced him to flee with 500 horse to the Ottomans. From Bender, his place of refuge, he roused them against the Russians. One hundred and fifty thousand Ottomans crossed the Danube, and Peter, surrounded in his camp on the banks of the Pruth, would have been crushed had not the grand vizier been bribed by Catherine the Tsarina (1711). The Tsar restored Azoff and promised to withdraw his troops from Poland.

By this treaty Charles XII was vanquished a second time. He persisted in remaining three years longer in Turkey and then set out again for Sweden, which the northern powers were despoiling. George I of England, Elector of Hanover, was buying Bremen and Verden. The king of Prussia was seizing Stettin and Pomerania. Stralsund still held out. Charles XII threw himself into it, defended it for a month, then returned to Sweden and met his death at the siege of Frederickshall, perhaps by treason (1718).

He left Sweden exhausted by this war of fifteen years' duration. She was deprived of her foreign possessions, without agriculture, without manufactures, without commerce, and had lost 250,000 men, the flower of her people, and her ascendancy in northern Europe. This heroic adventurer had annihilated the fortune of his people and ruined his country for a century.

Peter on the contrary was creating the fortune of his empire. By the treaty of Nystadt he granted peace to the Swedes (1721), but only on condition of their renouncing all claim to Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, a part of Carelia and the country of Viborg and Finland. When the ambassador of France implored less onerous terms, Peter replied, "I do not wish to see my neighbor's grounds from my windows."

Thus Sweden declined and Russia ascended. Thus a two-fold example was furnished to the world of what one man can do for the ruin or the advancement of nations not yet capable of controlling their destiny themselves. In 1716

the Tsar undertook another journey throughout Europe. This time he came to France, where he offered to replace Sweden as the ally of France against Austria. Cardinal Dubois, who was the hireling of England, caused the rejection of his proposals.

This journey was as fruitful as the first one in developing the resources of Russia. From it she gained engineers and workmen of all sorts, with manufactories and foundries. The Tsar established uniformity in weights and measures, a commercial tribunal, canals and shipyards. He opened mines in Siberia and highways for the products of China, Persia and India. He foresaw the future of the Amour River, which empties into the Eastern Sea. In order to make the clergy entirely dependent upon him, he replaced the Patriarch by a synod, which he recognized as the supreme head of the Church, and he made of the Russian nation a regiment, by applying the military hierarchy to the whole administration of his empire. His son Alexis was active against these reforms. The prince was tried, condemned to death and probably executed. At all events Alexis died on the day after his sentence and many of his accomplices perished. A general was impaled and an archbishop was broken on the wheel. By means of this savage energy he succeeded, as he himself said, in dressing his herd of animals like men. "The Tsar Peter," said Frederick II, "was the nitric acid which eats into iron." He died in 1725.

XXIII

CREATION OF PRUSSIA. DECLINE OF FRANCE AND AUSTRIA

Regency of the Duke of Orleans ; Ministries of Dubois, the Duke of Bourbon and of Fleury (1715-1743).—The successor of Louis XIV was only five years old. Therefore, Parliament conferred the regency upon the Duke of Orleans, a brave and intelligent prince, but weakly amiable and of dissolute character, who intrusted the power to his former preceptor, Cardinal Dubois. Through fear of Philip V of Spain, who by birth was nearer to the throne of France than was the regent, Dubois made a close alliance with England, which paid him a pension; and the spectacle was presented of the French being on their guard against the Spaniards, their friends of yesterday. Suddenly Cardinal Alberoni, the minister of Philip V, revealed his plan of restoring to Spain what the treaty of Utrecht had taken from her. He endeavored, by the help of the Ottomans, to keep Austria busy, to overthrow the regent by a conspiracy and reestablish the Stuarts through the sword of Charles XII. But Prince Eugene defeated the Ottomans at Belgrade (1717). The conspiracy against the regent failed. Charles XII perished in Norway. The English destroyed the Spanish fleet near Messina. The French entered Navarre. So Spain found herself crippled by the struggle and France was still under the regent and Dubois.

Louis XIV had left behind him financial ruin. The state owed 2,500,000,000 francs, of which nearly one-third was already due. Two years' revenues had been spent in advance. Though the budget was 165,000,000 francs, the deficit was 78,000,000. The regent, after having exhausted every other means to no purpose, decided to have recourse to the expedients of Law. That bold Scotch financier had founded a wonderfully successful bank and also the India Company, which, successful at first, ended in a complete failure. By clever manœuvres, the bonds of the company were

raised to the fictitious value of 2,000,000,000 francs. The mirage could not last and men's eyes were opened. To save the company, Law united it with the bank, thereby entailing a double ruin. The public which had formerly crowded to the Rue Quincampoix for the sake of obtaining its paper, now crowded there to obtain its coin. Everything crumbled to pieces and Law fled, pursued by curses. Nevertheless he had opened up a new horizon as to the power of credit. The regency has a melancholy fame on account of the scandalous depravity of manners which, in the upper classes, suddenly followed the ostentatious piety of the last years of Louis XIV.

The regent and Dubois died in 1723. The succeeding ministry of the Duke of Bourbon is notable only for the marriage of Louis XV to the daughter of Stanislaus Lechzinski (1725), whom Charles XII had made for a brief time king of Poland. That minister was overthrown by an ambitious septuagenarian, Fleury, bishop of Frejus and preceptor to the king, who held the reins from 1726 to 1743. The single idea in his whole administration was to economize in the finances and maintain peace in Europe. For that end he sacrificed the reputation of France and especially the interests of her navy, submitting to the exigencies of the English. At the death of Augustus II the Poles, by an immense majority, elected Stanislaus Lechzinski king, while the Elector of Saxony was nominated under the protection of Russian bayonets (1733). The king of France could not abandon his father-in-law. Nevertheless the assistance sent him was only a mockery and comprised no more than 1,500 soldiers. Stanislaus escaped with great difficulty from Dantzic and returned to France (1734). To make his disgraceful inactivity forgotten, Fleury joined Savoy and Spain against Austria, which they wished to expel from Italy. This, at least, was true French policy, and it proved successful. After the victories of Parma and Guastalla, France imposed upon the emperor the treaty of Vienna (1738). In place of the kingdom of Poland Stanislaus received the duchy of Lorraine, which after his death was to revert to the king of France. The Duke of Lorraine received Tuscany as indemnity. The Infante Don Carlos acquired Sicily with the kingdom of Naples and the king of Sardinia gained two Milanese provinces. Some of the French ministers wished still more advantageous terms,

but Fleury cared only to make peace rapidly. "After the peace of Vienna," said Frederick II, "France was the arbiter of Europe." She had then just conquered Austria in Italy and was on the point of aiding the Turks to win Servia by the treaty of Belgrade (1739). Thus Austria was at that moment retreating everywhere, in Italy as well as on the Danube. The two Seven Years' Wars were to reduce her lower still, but to drag down France in her fall.

Formation of Prussia.—A new power, Prussia, was to humble the traditional rivals, Austria and France. In 1417 Frederick of Hohenzollern, Burgrave of Nuremberg, bought from the Emperor Sigismund the margravate of Brandenburg, which possessed one of the seven electoral votes. Albert, the Ulysses of the North (1469), founded the power of his house by decreeing that future acquisitions should always remain united to the electorate and that the electorate should remain indivisible. In 1618 that house acquired ducal Prussia with Königsberg. In 1624 it gained the duchy of Cleves, with the counties of Mark and Ravensberg. Thus the state of the Hohenzollerns extended from the Meuse to the Niemen and formed on the Rhine, the Elbe and the east bank of the Vistula, three groups separated by foreign provinces. To gain possession of those provinces has been, even to our day, the object of Hohenzollern ambition. At the treaty of Westphalia the great elector fortified himself upon the Elbe by occupying Magdeburg. Then he approached the Vistula by the occupation of Further Pomerania (1648).

Although a member of the League of the Rhine, which Mazarin had formed and placed under the protection of France, Frederick William supported Holland against Louis XIV and founded the reputation of the Prussian army by defeating the Swedes at Fehrbellin. His states had scanty population. He attracted thither Dutch colonists and many Protestants, expelled by the edict of Nantes, who peopled Berlin, his new capital. His son, Frederick III, bought from the emperor the title of king and crowned himself at Königsberg (1701). In Brandenburg he was still only an elector, for ducal Prussia, which formed the new kingdom, was not included in the limits of the German Empire. Frederick William I (1713), the Sergeant King, created the Prussian army, raising it to 80,000 men, and spent his life as a drill-master. From

Sweden he acquired nearly the whole of Pomerania, with Stettin, and had already meditated the dismemberment of Poland.

Maria Theresa and Frederick II. The War of the Austrian Succession (1741-1748). — While this Protestant power, inheriting the rôle of Sweden and Gustavus Adolphus, was waxing strong in the North, Catholic Austria was declining. Hemmed in by the Protestants of Germany, who were upheld by Sweden, by the Turks, who showed a remnant of vigor, and by the France of Richelieu, Mazarin and Louis XIV, Austria had received many severe blows, but had been saved by a great general and set on her feet again by fortunate circumstances. Eugene, vanquished at Denain, gained a victory over the Turks at Zenta (1697), Peterwardein (1716) and at Belgrade (1717). From the war of the Spanish Succession Austria obtained the Netherlands, Milan and Naples. The latter was exchanged, later on, for Parma and Piacenza.

When the Emperor Charles VI died in 1740, the same year as the Sergeant King, the male line of the Hapsburgs became extinct. In order to secure his inheritance to his daughter Maria Theresa, Charles had taken every diplomatic but not a single military precaution. Hardly had he expired when the solemnly signed parchments were torn up and five claimants appeared. Some, like the king of Spain and the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, demanded the whole of Maria Theresa's inheritance. The other two laid claim to the provinces which suited them. Then the king of Sardinia found Milan very attractive and Frederick II was greatly tempted by Silesia. Hostilities had already broken out between the English and Spaniards, on account of the contraband trade which the former carried on in the colonies of the latter. A general war was grafted upon this private war, since Frederick II had drawn France into alliance with him and thus threw England into alliance with Maria Theresa. That Prussian prince, hitherto devoted to art and literature, suddenly revealed himself as a great king and the cleverest military leader of the century. At Molwitz, he struck the first blow of the war by a victory over the veterans of Prince Eugene, and that victory gave him Silesia, while the French invaded Bohemia.

The subsidies of England and the enthusiasm of the Hungarians furnished Maria Theresa with unexpected

resources. She abandoned Silesia to Frederick, who at once violated his alliance with France, on whom now fell the whole weight of the war. The French army, besieged in Prague, made a glorious but painful retreat in the dead of winter. After Bohemia had been thus retaken, the Austrians invaded Bavaria. The frontiers of France were exposed to attack. Louis XV, or rather Marshal Saxe, had entered the Netherlands with 120,000 men and captured many towns. Those successes ceased when it became necessary to send a large detachment to cover the frontiers. Frederick had again taken up arms against Austria and invaded Bohemia. The French line on the Rhine was thus relieved, the Emperor Charles VII returned to Munich and his son made a treaty with Maria Theresa (1745).

While Frederick was again defeating Austria and imposing upon her the treaty of Dresden, which put Brussels in his power, Charles Edward, the Stuart pretender, landed in Scotland to stir up the Highlanders against the house of Hanover, which had been seated upon the English throne since the death of Queen Anne (1714). The victories of Marshal Saxe and the alliance of Russia with France made the opposite party ready for peace. Victorious on the continent, France had suffered terribly on the sea, where her navy had been almost destroyed, and she had lost her opportunity of founding in Hindustan that Indian empire which Dupleix had begun. By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) England and France mutually restored their conquests, but Silesia was definitely assigned to the king of Prussia.

The Seven Years' War (1756-1763).— France employed the peace to reconstruct her marine and extend her commerce. England was annoyed at this prosperity and, without any declaration of war, began to capture the French vessels which were sailing under the protection of treaties (1755). It was the interest of France to maintain the exclusively maritime character of this fresh struggle, but the English sought with gold some continental ally, and Frederick II, rendered uneasy by the unlooked-for good understanding between France and Austria, accepted their subsidies. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle he had gained the good-will of Silesia by wise measures. He began the reformation of the courts and the finances and incorporated East Friesland into his kingdom. But his

wit injured his policy. His epigrams wounded the Empress Elizabeth and Madame Pompadour, the favorite of Louis XIV. Maria Theresa, who could not see a Silesian without weeping, cleverly inflamed the wrath of the offended ladies and roused against Prussia the very coalition which had threatened her during the preceding war.

Frederick anticipated his enemies by invading Saxony, whose troops he incorporated into his army. Then he made his way into Bohemia and defeated the Austrians at Lowositz. France threw two armies into Germany, one of which forced the Anglo-Hanoverians to capitulate, while the other suffered the shameful defeat of Rosbach (1757). For many years the king of Prussia, alone save as assisted by subsidies from England, waged a heroic war against combined Austria, Russia, France and Sweden. The conflict was marked by the battles of Prague, Kollin, Joegern-dorf, Zorndorf, Kunnersdorf, Liegnitz, Minden and Crevelt. In 1761 he seemed at the end of his resources and strength. He was saved by the death of the Tsarina, whose successor, Peter III, was an admirer of the Prussian hero and made haste to recall the Russian troops. A final campaign restored to him Silesia and disposed Austria for peace. France had not been invaded, but she lost Pondicherry, Quebec and all her navy. She accepted the treaty of Paris (1763).

The second Seven Years' War resulted, on the one hand in the continental grandeur of Prussia and the maritime supremacy of England, and on the other, in the humiliation of Austria and the decline of France. This war cost the lives of 1,000,000 human beings. In Prussia alone 14,500 houses were burned.

After having saved his country and gloriously constituted a new nation in Europe, Frederick saved it from misery by a wise and vigilant administration. He drained marshes, constructed dikes and canals, encouraged manufactures, created a new system of landed credit, reorganized public instruction and reformed the administration of justice.

In 1772 he accomplished the dismemberment of Poland, as we shall see more fully later on. In 1777 he inflicted upon Austria a fresh political defeat by forcing her to renounce her claims to Bavaria, which she had bought after the death of the last elector. Thus Frederick made himself the protector of the German Empire against half Slavic Austria.

XXIV

MARITIME AND COLONIAL POWER OF ENGLAND

England from 1688 to 1763. — The English revolution of 1688 had as its result: at home the revival of both political and religious liberty and, abroad, the substitution of strong and resourceful England for exhausted Holland as the adversary of France. The wars of the League of Augsburg and of the Spanish Succession had ruined the French navy. The fleets of Holland were at the orders of William III, and thus England took possession of the ocean, which her merchants covered with their ships. William, who died in 1702, was succeeded by Queen Anne, the second daughter of James II. A zealous Protestant, she brought about the union of Scotland and England, under the official title of the Kingdom of Great Britain (1707). Until 1710 the Whigs were in power. They represented the revolution of 1688 and consequently were strongly opposed to Louis XIV. So Anne pursued the policy of her brother-in-law in continuing war against France, in which Marlborough won the great victories of Blenheim, Oudenarde, Ramillies and Malplaquet. The advent of a Tory minister in 1710 brought about the peace of Utrecht (1713). On the death of the queen, Parliament bestowed the crown upon George of Brunswick, Elector of Hanover (1714).

That prince knew neither a word of English nor a single article of the Constitution. He allowed Sir Robert Walpole to be the real ruler. Walpole was the leader of the Whigs, who had regained a majority in Parliament and who retained it until 1742, thanks to the system of bribery openly employed by the prime minister. The unscrupulous minister was overthrown by the outbreak of the war of the Austrian Succession. England in that war acquired not an inch of territory but great havoc was caused by the invasion of the Pretender, Charles Stuart (1745), and the national debt was almost doubled. Already the Great Commoner, William Pitt, was attracting the attention of England. In 1757 he

became prime minister. France realized too well his talents and his hatred during the Seven Years' War, which he directed with an energy that was fatal to both the French marine and the French colonies.

George I died in 1727 and George II in 1760. Both were faithful to the compact of 1688. Having neither a soldier nor a party, they accepted the ministers which the parliamentary majority imposed, so that to change her policy Great Britain had only to change her ministers. Thus the Whigs or Liberals and the Tories or Conservatives came into power through a vote of Parliament and not through an insurrection in the street. For this reason, during the last two centuries, England has been able to effect many reforms without either the pretext or the necessity of a revolution. George III, who reigned sixty years, several times even lost his reason, but governmental action was not affected thereby. In London the king reigns, but does not govern. He accepts the councillors whom the Chambers assign him and signs the decrees which his ministers present. He is the wheel which is required to set the machine in motion, but he does not command its movements, so that by his permanence he represents conservatism, while the ministry, by its mobility, ensures progress.

The English East India Company. — The Seven Years' War ruined French affairs in India and delivered America over to England. Leaving their colonies to spread freely over the rich valleys of the St. Lawrence, the Ohio and the Mississippi, the English flung themselves upon India, where Dupleix had just revealed how an empire could be created. As early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, an East India Company had been organized, which obtained from the Grand Mogul the right to traffic in Bengal and which founded Calcutta. The French privateers, during the war of the League of Augsburg, cost the commerce of Great Britain 675,000,000 francs and ruined the company whose aggrandizement the emperor of India, Aurangzeb, also was arresting. The death of that prince (1707) delivered India over to anarchy. The English counted upon profiting thereby, when they found a dangerous rival in a company founded by Colbert and reconstructed in 1723. Dupleix, the director-general of the French trading posts in India, transformed his commercial company into a powerful state,

with fortresses, arsenals and arms, and a vast territory extending from Cape Comorin to the Krishna River. For many years he governed 30,000,000 Hindus with absolute power. But Louis XV abandoned him. Recalled to France in 1754, he died in misery. The English took his place, copying the organization which he had bestowed upon his conquest, and France retained only Pondicherry.

The empire of the Grand Mogul in the valley of the Ganges was in a state of dissolution. The soubahs or vice-roys and the nabobs or governors of districts rendered themselves independent after the death of Aurangzeb, so that in Bengal, the company, or "The Great Lady of London" as the Hindus called it, could easily expand. In the Deccan it found brave and active adversaries. The Mussulman Haidar Ali, sovereign of Mysore, and his son, Tippoo Sahib, from 1761 to 1799 maintained a constant resistance. The latter perished defending his capital. From 1799 to 1818 the English fought against the valiant population of the Mahrattas, who half a century earlier had come near subjugating the whole of India. The Punjaub, the country of the Five Rivers, ceased to be independent in 1846.

XXV

FOUNDATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Origin and Character of the English Colonies in America.

— The English did not reckon upon India, but India is to them now a mine of wealth. They did reckon upon America and America is to-day free and their rival.

Founded by companies or by private individuals who fled from the persecutions inflicted in the mother country upon dissenters, the English colonies in America, unlike the French, were not kept in leading-strings by the home government and developed rapidly under the protection of religious, civil and commercial liberty. There was no party, worsted in the revolutions of England, which did not find in America an asylum to receive it. New England was the refuge of the Roundheads and Republicans, Virginia of the Cavaliers and Maryland of the Catholics. With their creeds the emigrants brought the political ideas of old England and held to the administration of public affairs by representatives of the persons interested. In all these colonies a legislative assembly directed the affairs of common weal. But the French in Canada were not even allowed to appoint a syndic or mayor of Quebec, "since it is not good," Colbert wrote to them, "that any one should speak for all." Printing, which was not introduced into Canada until 1764, or five years after it was lost by the French, existed in Massachusetts as early as 1636, "in order," as it was stated, "that the knowledge of our fathers may not be buried with them in their tombs." In this national difference of colonial organization is to be found the explanation of the ruin of the one and of the prosperity of the other.

The Revolution (1775-1783).— After the Seven Years' War the English Ministry, wishing to make the colonies bear a part of the expenses of the home government, tried first to subject them to a stamp-tax and then to a tax upon glass, paper and tea (1767). The colonists, who had no representative in the House of Commons, invoked that

principle of the English Constitution which provides that no citizens are bound to submit to any taxes not voted by their representatives. Ninety-six towns pledged themselves not to buy any English merchandise so long as their complaints were unheeded. At Boston in 1773 three cargoes of tea were thrown into the water. A few months later war broke out. On July 4, 1776, the Continental Congress at Philadelphia proclaimed the independence of the thirteen colonies. They united in a confederation wherein each state preserved its political and religious liberty.

Washington. The Part of France in the War.—Washington, a wealthy planter of Virginia, was appointed general. Calm, methodical, persevering, audacious, but never rash, never permitting himself to be crushed by a reverse nor elated by a success, he was the ideal leader for such a conflict. His inexperienced soldiers had to combat veteran troops. The German princes sold to the English 17,000 men to take part in the war. Washington lost New York and Philadelphia. But by keeping Howe busy, he enabled the insurgents in the north to stop Burgoyne, who came down from Canada with an army, and to force his surrender at Saratoga (October, 1777). France recognized the independence of the colonies. She sent them, first a fleet, and then an army, whose chiefs, Rochambeau and La Fayette, aided Washington to compel the capitulation of Cornwallis at Yorktown. Spain joined her forces to those of France. The secondary navies formed the League of the Neutrals for the protection of such vessels as were not carrying contraband of war. England bowed under the burden, signed the peace of Versailles, which restored several trading posts to France, and acknowledged the independence of the United States (1783).

Thus England lost America, with the exception of Canada, which she had wrested from France and which she still holds. She found a partial compensation for this loss in the development of her commerce with the new state. Half a century however had not elapsed before the Star-Spangled Banner was competing with the British flag in all the markets of the world. Moreover the new republic had inspired in the ancient mother country a sentiment of respect which was akin to fear, because, invulnerable on her continent, she could deal a thousand blows before receiving one.

Washington won even more honor in peace than in war. He might have retained power or have prompted a military revolution for his own benefit. But he was the most faithful servant of the law. He disbanded his troops even against their will and became again a plain private individual on the banks of the Potomac. There it was that they, whom he had saved on the field of battle, sought him in 1789, that he might save them again by his political sagacity. Twice in succession they elected him President of the United States. After that double presidency he persisted in retiring to his estate of Mount Vernon. Carried to the tomb in 1799 he left behind the purest name of modern times.

XXVI

DESTRUCTION OF POLAND. DECLINE OF THE OTTOMANS. GREATNESS OF RUSSIA

Catherine II (1761) and Frederick II. First Partition of Poland (1773). — While a new nation was being born on the other side of the Atlantic, an ancient people was dying in old Europe under the pressure of two states which had assumed a place among the great powers only a few years before. The real successor of Peter the Great was the wife of his grandson, Peter III, the Princess of Anhalt, who had her husband strangled and reigned under the name of Catherine II. Poland, with her elective and powerless royalty, with her anarchical nobility and her religious passions, was a sort of anomaly among the absolute monarchies of the eighteenth century. Now in politics anomalies cannot last. Poland was doomed either to reform herself or to perish. Her people and her neighbors alike prevented reforms. Hence she fell.

Catherine II caused her favorite Poniatowski to be elected king and signed with Frederick II, who had already proposed the dismemberment of the country, a secret treaty for the maintenance of the Polish constitution. Doubtless Catherine hoped to avoid the partition and to reserve the entire kingdom for herself alone. When she saw that the Polish Diet was determined to persecute dissenters, she took the latter under her protection and had two bishops arrested whom she sent to Siberia. Forthwith the Catholics formed the Confederation of Bar, which adopted a banner with the Virgin and the Child Jesus as its standard. The Latin cross marched against the Greek cross. The peasants murdered their lords. From civil war Poland weltered in blood. The Prussians entered on the west, the Austrians on the south, and the Russians were everywhere.

France did not feel herself ready to succor Poland. Still, she roused the Turks against Russia, but they lost their provinces and their fleet, which was burned at Tchesmeh.

Frederick II, uneasy at these victories of the Tsarina, recalled her to the affairs of Poland and reminded her of the idea of partition, threatening that she would have to fight Prussia and Austria in case of refusal. Catherine yielded. On April 19, 1773, the partition was accomplished. Maria Theresa took Galicia or the northern slope of the Carpathians; Frederick seized the provinces which he needed to unite Prussia to his German states and Catherine occupied many Palatinates of the east.

Treaties of Kainardji (1774) and Jassy (1792).—Having satisfied in Poland her own greed and that of Prussia, Catherine resumed her projects against Turkey, on which she imposed the treaty of Kainardji (1774). Thereby the Russians acquired many towns, the right to navigate the Black Sea, and a protectorate over Moldavia and Wallachia. The Tartars of the Crimea and the Kouban became independent of the Sultan, preliminary to their speedy subjection to the Tsar. The amnesty accorded the Greek subjects of Turkey revealed that they had a zealous protector in the Muscovite prince at St. Petersburg, recognized as the champion of the Orthodox Church. In the following year, Catherine II put an end to the republic of the Zaperogian Cossacks, whose territories lay between the Russian power and the Black Sea. In 1777 she bought his sovereignty from the khan of the Crimea, and built Sebastopol. She even caused the king of Georgia on the southern slope of the Caucasus to accept her protection; and finally came to an understanding with the Emperor Joseph II for the partition of the Turkish Empire.

The Divan declared war (1787) and prosecuted it bravely for four years. But the Ottomans would have succumbed, had not the Tsarina, menaced by the evident hostility of Prussia, which had assembled 80,000 men on its eastern frontier, and by the unfriendly tone of England and Holland, consented to the treaty of Jassy. Thereby the Dniester was fixed as the boundary of the two empires (1792). Turkey, formerly so dangerous to Europe, had just been saved for the first time by three Christian states, which were unwilling to have the European balance of power disturbed for the benefit of a single people.

Second and Third Partitions of Poland (1793-1795).—The Poles paid for the Turks. Warned by the first dismemberment, they had tried to reform their constitution,

abolish the liberum veto, render the monarchy hereditary and share the legislative power between the king, the senate and the nuncios or deputies. But Prussia and Austria, who were then engaged in stifling the revolution in France, had no intention of allowing another revolution to be kindled in their rear. A second and third partition, effected at an interval of two years, blotted out the country of Sobieski. If in later treaties the German people were divided up like cattle and their countries like farms to suit the convenience of a conqueror, their fate was only the repetition of the example furnished by the authors of the great Polish spoliation. Austria in 1806 and in 1809, and Prussia at Tilsit, endured only what the Poles had suffered at their hands.

Attempt at dismembering Sweden. — Prussia and Russia had acquired an appetite by their success and began to prepare the same fate for Sweden. By a recent treaty they pledged themselves to maintain in that country the factions which had existed there since the death of Charles XII, and which were kept alive by foreign money. The coup d'état of Gustavus III in 1772 and the constitutional act of 1789 forestalled the danger. The nobles indeed at last assassinated their prince, who was friendly to reform and hostile to Russia (1792), but Catherine II, then busy in the East, and Prussia, busy in the West, left the Swedish kingdom in peace.

XXVII

PRELIMINARIES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Scientific and Geographical Discoveries. — The eighteenth century was for the sciences what the seventeenth had been for letters, and the sixteenth for arts and creeds. It was a period of renovation. Physics was regenerated by the brilliant electrical experiments of Franklin, Volta and Galvani, who invented the lightning-rod and the voltaic battery. So was mathematical analysis by Lagrange and Laplace; botany by Linnæus and Jussieu; zoölogy by Buffon, who also introduced geology, while Lavoisier gave to the science of chemistry firm foundations. Mankind, when master of the laws of nature, wished at once to make them of advantage. In 1775 vaccination was discovered. In 1783 a steamboat ascended the Saône and the first balloon was launched into the air.

At the same time the skilful navigators, Cook, Bougainville and La Pérouse, completed the work of the great sailors of the fifteenth century, not through hope of gain or from religious sentiment as three hundred years earlier, but in the interest of science.

Letters in the Eighteenth Century. — While the physicists were discovering new forces and the navigators new lands, the writers for their part were revealing a new world. Literature was not, as in the preceding century, controlled by art. It had invaded everything and claimed the right to regulate everything. The most virile forces of the mind seemed directed to the advancement of public welfare. Men no longer labored to make fine verses but to utter fine maxims. They no longer depicted the whims of society for the sake of a laugh, but for the purpose of reforming society itself. Literature became a weapon which all, the imprudent as well as the skilful, tried to wield. And by a strange inconsistency, those who had the most to suffer from this inroad of literary men into the field of politics were the ones who applauded it the most. This society of the eighteenth

century, frivolous and sensual as it was, nevertheless cherished an admiration for mental power. Talent almost took the place of birth.

Three men headed the movement. They were: Voltaire, whose whims and passions and vices cannot be forgotten, but who fought all his life long for liberty of thought; Montesquieu, who studied the reason of laws and the nature of governments, who taught men to examine and compare existing constitutions in order to seek therein the best, which he found in liberty-loving England; and lastly, Rousseau with his *Social Contract*, wherein he proclaimed the doctrine of national sovereignty and universal suffrage. At their side the encyclopedists reviewed human knowledge and set it forth in a manner often menacing to social order and always hostile to religion. Finally Quesnay created the new science of political economy. Thus human thought, hitherto confined to metaphysical and religious speculations, or absorbed in unselfish worship of the Muses, now claimed the right to attack the most difficult problems of society. And all, philosophers as well as economists, sought the solution on the side of liberty. From the school of Quesnay had sprung the axiom, "Let well enough alone," just as in politics D'Argenson had said, "Do not govern too much."

Disagreement between Ideas and Institutions. — Thus the mental agitation, formerly excited by the discussion of dogmas, now was produced by wholly terrestrial interests. Men no longer sought to determine divine attributes, or the limits of grace and free will, but they studied man and society, rights and obligations. The Middle Ages and feudalism, when they expired under the hand of kings, had left the ground covered with their fragments, so the most shocking inequalities and the strangest confusion were to be met on every side. Therefore the complaints were vigorous, numerous and pressing.

Men desired that government should no longer be a frightful labyrinth wherein the most clever must lose his way. They meant that the public finances should cease to be pillaged by the king, his ministers and the court; that personal liberty should be secured against arbitrary orders of arrest or *lettres de cachet*, and that property should be protected from confiscation. They wished that the criminal code, still aided by torture, should become less sanguinary and the civil code more equitable.

They demanded religious toleration instead of dogma imposed under penalty of death; law, founded on principles of natural and rational right, instead of the privilege of a few and the arbitrary government of all; unity of weights and measures, instead of the most extreme confusion; taxes paid by every one, instead of the taxation of poverty and the exemption of wealth; the emancipation of labor and free competition, instead of monopoly of corporations; and free admission to the public offices, instead of favoritism shown to birth and fortune.

To accomplish this a revolution was necessary and every one saw that it was coming. As early as 1719, Fénelon exclaimed, "The dilapidated machine still continues to work because of the former impetus imparted to it, but it will go to pieces at the first shock."

Reforms effected by Governments. — These words did not apply to France alone. They included the whole of absolutist Europe. If the people did not everywhere understand the need of reforms, the princes felt the necessity of undertaking them. Bold or clever ministers like Pombal of Lisbon, Aranda at Madrid and Tanucci at Naples, encouraged industry, agriculture and science, opened roads, canals and schools, suppressed privileges and abuses, and banished the Jesuits, who seemed to embody all the evil influences of the past. The Grand Duke of Tuscany created provinces by transforming pestilential marshes into fertile lands. The king of Sardinia allowed his subjects to emancipate themselves from feudal taxes. Joseph II in Austria abolished tithes, seignorial rights, forced labor and convents, and subordinated the Church to the state. In Sweden Gustavus III diminished the church festivals, forbade torture and doubled the product of the iron and copper mines. We have already noted the reforms of Frederick II in Prussia.

Catherine the Great cultivated the acquaintance of Voltaire, Diderot, D'Alembert, so as to influence public opinion through them. She had a magnificent constitution drawn up, which, however, she did not put into execution. She built schools which remained empty. When the governor of Moscow was in despair at the lack of scholars, she wrote him: "My dear prince, do not complain that the Russians have no desire to learn. If I set up schools, it is not for our own sake, but because of Europe which is watching us. As soon as our peasants wish to become enlightened, neither

you nor I shall remain in our places." Cardinal Pole had expressed the same idea at the beginning of the Reformation: "It is dangerous to make men too learned."

Thus a new spirit of reform was breathing over Europe. It was social and no longer a religious reform. It was preached by philosophers or economists and not by monks or theologians. The princes now too placed themselves at the head of the movement, hoping to derive profit therefrom, as they had done from the secularizations of church property during the Lutheran and the Anglican Reformations. They sought to promote the welfare of their peoples. They freed them at the expense of the feudal and ecclesiastical aristocracy, from vexatious or onerous burdens, but they specially labored all the time to augment their own revenues and strength. These princes all said, as did the emperor of Austria: "My trade is to be a royalist." So they preserved the discretionary power which feudal anarchy had permitted them to grasp, but which the enlarging interests of the people doomed them no longer to retain.

Thus, at bottom, nothing was changed. Despite this paternal solicitude and from default of regular institutions, everything still depended on individuals, so that public prosperity fluctuated with those who remained its supreme dispensers. Hence Spain under Charles IV and Godoy again fell as low as under Charles II. The days of the Lazzaroni flourished once more at Naples under Queen Caroline and her minister, Acton. Joseph II disturbed Austria without regenerating it, and Catherine II played with reforms for her people. In Prussia alone a great man did great things. In France when skilful ministers, who wished to do them likewise, were expelled from power, the nation undertook to accomplish the reforms itself.

Last Years of Louis XV (1763-1774). — At the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), France was still the leading military power of Europe. This rank was taken from her by the disgraces of the Seven Years' War. Afterwards the army had no chance of reviving its ancient renown, for French intervention in the affairs of Eastern Europe was mostly limited to diplomatic notes and a few volunteers. The acquisition of Corsica (1769) under Louis XV was the result of a bargain with Genoa, which sold the island for 40,000,000 francs. The acquisition of Lorraine was only the execution of a treaty, for which the occupation of the duchy

for almost a century by French troops had long since paved the way. Hence there was little glory in those territorial gains. But the war in America, a few years later, shed some brilliancy upon the navy. While Prussia, Austria and Russia were murdering one nation, France had the honor of aiding in the birth of another. The American Revolution was popular, so France resumed before the end of the century something of the proud bearing which Rosbach had taken from her.

At home Louis XV disgraced the monarchy by his vices and hastened its ruin by his political conduct. The expulsion of the Jesuits offended one party and the suppression of the parliaments was a blow at another. Frequent and arbitrary arrests exasperated the public mind. Public interests received a shock in the proceedings of the comptroller-general, Abbé Terray, who excused the bankruptcy he declared by saying, "The king is the master." Louis realized that a terrible expiation was approaching, but he thought he himself would escape it. "Things will last quite as long as I shall. My successor must get out of the scrape as best he can."

Louis XVI until the Revolution. — This sovereign was the most honest and the weakest of men. He abolished forced labor and torture. He summoned to the ministry Turgot, who could have forestalled the Revolution by reforms or at least could have controlled and guided it. But when the courtiers complained, he dismissed him, saying, "Only Monsieur and I love the people." Necker, the Genevese banker, did not succeed in covering the frightful deficit which the expenses of the American war increased. The state existed only by loans. Calonne, in the space of three years and in time of peace, increased the debt 500,000,000 francs. An Assembly of Notables, convoked in 1787, could point out no remedy. On all sides men clamored for the States General. The government, at the end of its resources, promised to convoke them. Necker, recalled to the ministry, rendered the decision that the number of deputies from the Third Estate should equal that of the other two orders. This was the same thing as deciding that by the Third Estate alone the great reforms were to be effected.

XXVIII

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

(1789-1792)

Divine Right and National Sovereignty. — In the Middle Ages, for the purpose of combating feudalism, the jurists had again asserted the proposition of the Roman jurists concerning the absolute power of the prince. The Church with her religious authority had sanctioned this doctrine, borrowed from Oriental monarchies, which made the kings through the religious rite of coronation the direct representatives of God on earth. On the other hand, the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, which had ruled the Greek, German, Celtic and Roman world, and which even Augustus had made the basis of his power, had never been completely forgotten and proscribed. This doctrine had been many times reasserted. Thus did in France the States General of 1484, in Spain, the Aragonese, who imposed upon their kings so harsh an oath. In England it was announced before the Tudors and repeated under Henry VI by Chancellor Fortescue, who declared that governments had been constituted by the peoples and existed only for their benefit. Again was it maintained under William III by Locke, who proclaimed the necessity of the common consent. In the eighteenth century it was set forth by the majority of writers. Thus the most ancient system in the West was that of national sovereignty. The principle of divine right, represented by Louis XIV and James I, had come later into the field. Reason and history were against it. It was accepted only as an accidental political form which had had certain temporary advantages and on that account, a temporary validity.

In the France of 1789, the absolute monarchy by right divine found that its faults had reduced it to such a condition that it was impossible for it to govern. After royalty ceased to live upon the revenues of its own possessions,

it had set up as an axiom of public law that, for the common weal of the state, the Third Estate would contribute its goods, the nobility its blood, and the clergy its prayers. Now the court clergy prayed but little, the nobility no longer formed all the army; but the Third Estate still remained faithful to its functions. It still continued to pay the taxes and it paid more every year. As the monarchy increased in prodigality, the more dependent did it become upon the Third Estate, and the more inevitable did it render the moment when, tired of paying, the Third Estate would demand a reckoning. That awful day of account is known as the Revolution of 1789.

The court wanted the States General to occupy themselves solely with financial affairs and then, as soon as the deficit was covered and the debts paid, the deputies to go home. But France was suffering from two maladies, one financial and one political, from the deficit and from abuses. To heal the former, economy was necessary together with a new system of taxation. To heal the latter, entire reorganization of the power was needed. Royalty had undergone many transformations since the times of the Roman emperors. It had been barbarian with Clovis, feudal with Philip Augustus, and by right divine with Louis XIV. In its latest form it had furnished unity of territory and unity of authority, but it must now submit to another change. France, with her immense development of industry, commerce, science, public spirit and personal property, now had interests too complex and needs too numerous to trust itself to the omnipotence of a single man. She required a guarantee against the unlucky hazards of a royal birth or the frivolity of incapable ministers.

The National Assembly until the Capture of the Bastille.

— On May 5, 1789, the deputies assembled at Versailles. The clergy and nobility were represented by 561 persons, while the Third Estate, or ninety-six per cent of the population, had 584 or a majority of twenty-three votes. This majority was an illusion unless they voted as individuals and not as orders. The whole spirit of '89, briefly expressed, consisted in establishing equality before the law and guaranteeing it by liberty. Now this spirit had penetrated even the privileged classes. Many of their members came and joined the deputies of the Third Estate who, assembled in

the common hall, had proclaimed themselves the National Constituent or Constitutional Assembly.

On June 27 the fusion of the three orders was accomplished. This the court tried to prevent, first by closing the place of assembly and then by having the king make a threatening speech. The sole effect of their opposition was to determine the deputies to declare themselves inviolable. The court hoped for better results from military action, and an army of 30,000 men, in which foreign regiments had been carefully incorporated, was stationed around Paris and Versailles. The threat was perfectly plain, but the courage to strike a great blow was lacking. To this imprudent provocation another challenge was added in the exile of Necker, the popular minister (July 11). To this challenge the Assembly replied by renewing the oath, taken at the tennis court, that the representatives would not separate until they had given France a constitution. But Paris took alarm and flew to arms. Some of the populace marched against the troops, encamped in the Champs Elysées, who fell back upon Versailles. Others rushed to the Bastille, captured it and massacred its commandant. The provost of the merchants, the minister Foulon, and the intendant Berthier were also slain. The mob began to get a taste of blood (July 14, 1789).

The insensate conduct of the court, which called the Assembly together and then wished to get rid of it, which threatened but dared not act, which provoked yet knew neither how to intimidate nor to coerce, which cherished childish hatreds and had no resolution, in only two months had caused the reformation to deviate from its pacific methods. That fourteenth of July is explained by circumstances and by the state of men's minds. It was, nevertheless, the first of those revolutionary days, which were destined to demoralize the people by habituating them to regard the power and the law as a target against which they could always fire.

The Days of October. The Emigration. The Constitution of 1791. — "It is a riot," exclaimed Louis XVI when he heard the news of the Bastille. "No, Sire," replied the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, "it is a revolution." In fact on August 4 the Assembly abolished all feudal rights and the sale of offices. In September it voted the Declaration of Rights, established a single legislative chamber and rejected

the absolute veto power of the king. Then the court returned to the idea of employing force. It was proposed to the king that he should withdraw to Metz and place himself in Bouillé's army. That measure would have been the beginning of civil war. He remained at Versailles and summoned thither troops numerous enough to produce uneasiness, but too few to inspire any real fear.

Famine was ravaging France and in Paris men were dying of hunger. On October 5 an army of women set out for Versailles, imagining that abundance would reign if the king were brought back to Paris, his capital. National guards, recently organized by La Fayette, accompanied them and provoked quarrels in the courtyards of the palace with the body-guard. Many of the latter were killed, the queen was insulted and the royal dwelling was broken in upon. As a final confession of weakness, the king and the Assembly followed this crowd to Paris, where both were about to fall into the hands of the mob. The success of the expedition to Versailles showed the ringleaders of the faubourgs that thenceforth they could rule everything, Assembly or government, by intimidation.

Sanguinary scenes took place in the country districts also. The peasants were not satisfied by destroying feudal coats-of-arms and breaking down drawbridges and towers. They sometimes also killed the nobles. Terror reigned in the castles, as it reigned at court. Already the king's most prudent counsellors, his brother, the Count d'Artois, the princes of Condé and Conti, the dukes of Bourbon and Enghien, the Polignacs, and others of their class had fled, leaving him alone in the midst of a populace whose wrath they were about to inflame by every means and whose fiercest passions they were going to unloose by turning the arms of foreign nations against their country.

Nevertheless the Assembly nobly went on with its work. In the name of liberty it removed all unjust discriminations from the dissenting sects, the press and industry. In the name of justice it suppressed the right of primogeniture. In the name of equality it abolished nobility and titles, declared all Frenchmen of whatever religion eligible for public office, and replaced the ancient provincial boundaries by a division into ninety-three departments. Money poured out of the kingdom with the emigrants, or was above all concealed through the fear of a rising. The Assembly

ordered that 400,000,000 francs in assignats or paper money should be issued, secured by the property of the clergy, which it ordered to be sold. At the same time the law ceased to recognize monastic vows. The cloisters were declared to be open and the parliaments were replaced by elective tribunals. The sovereignty of the nation having been proclaimed, men drew the natural inference that all power ought to emanate from the people. Thus the elective system was introduced everywhere. A deliberative council in the departments, districts and communes was placed by the side of the elective council, as beside the king was placed the legislative body. And some people were already of the opinion that in such a system a hereditary king was an absurdity.

But the court did not accept the Constitution. Vanquished at Paris on July 14 and at Versailles on October 6, the nobles fled to Coblenz and there openly conspired against France. The nobles, who remained with the king, plotted in secret. Louis, who had never a will of his own, let them do what they liked. In public he accepted the decrees of the Assembly. In secret he protested against the violence done to his rights. Such a double game has always been productive of evil. Nevertheless, there was a moment when universal confidence reigned. This was at the Festival of the Federation, offered by the Parisians on the Champs de Mars to the deputies of the army and of the ninety-three departments. From November, 1789, to July, 1790, in the villages and in the cities, the inhabitants in arms fraternized with the men of the neighboring village or city, all uniting in the joy of their new-found country. These local federations made common cause and finally formed the great French federation which sent, on July 14, 1790, 100,000 representatives to Paris. The king in their presence solemnly swore fidelity to the Constitution.

But nothing came of this festival. Secret hostilities were immediately resumed between the court and the Assembly. The immediate cause of the trouble was the civil constitution of the clergy, which, by applying to the Church the reform introduced into the state, subjected even curates and bishops to election and disturbed the whole existing ecclesiastical hierarchy. This was an abuse of power on the part of the Assembly, for secular society was not competent to regulate the internal organization of religious

society. The Pope condemned this intervention of the state in the discipline of the Church and prohibited obedience to the new law. The king interposed his veto, which he removed only after a riot. But the great majority of the clergy refused to take the oath of allegiance to the civil constitution. Then schism entered into the Church of France. In its train were to come persecutions and a frightful war.

The king, to whose conscience this decree did violence just as violence had been done to his affections by the measures which the Assembly forced him to take against the emigrants, no longer felt himself free. He thought that he would find that liberty, denied him in the Tuileries, by taking refuge in the camp of Bouillé, whence he could summon Austria and Prussia to his aid. Arrested in his flight at Varennes (June 21, 1791), he was suspended from his functions by the Assembly. The people on July 17, in the Champs de Mars, demanded his abdication. Bailly ordered the red flag to be unfurled and the mob to be fired upon. On September 14, the king, who up to that time had been detained like a prisoner at the Tuileries, accepted the Constitution of 1791, which created a single assembly, charged with making the laws, and left to the monarch, together with the executive power, the right of suspending for four years the expressions of the national will by the use of his veto. The electoral body was divided into primary assemblies, which appointed the electors, and electoral assemblies which appointed the deputies. The former comprised the active citizens, that is to say, men twenty-five years of age, who were inscribed on the rolls of the national guard and paid a direct tax equal to three days' labor. The latter were formed by the proprietors or tenants of an estate, which brought in at least between 150 and 200 francs. All active citizens were eligible.

The National Assembly ended worthily with expressions of liberty and concord. It proclaimed universal amnesty, suppressed all obstacles to circulation and repealed all exceptional laws, hoping thereby to recall the emigrants to their country. Among its members the most distinguished were Mounier, Malouet, Barnave, the Lameths, Cazalès, Maury, Duport, Sieyès, and especially Mirabeau. The last named, had he lived, might perhaps have reconciled royalty with the Revolution. It is from Mirabeau

that we have the beautiful formula of the new era, "Right is the sovereign of the world."

The National Assembly prohibited the reëlection of its members to the new assembly. This was an unwise self-àbnegation, for the Revolution needed that its veterans should hold its standard high and firm above the superstitious worshippers of the past and the fierce dreamers of the future. Thus the way might be paved for the peaceful triumph of that new state of mind and institutions which has so often been disturbed and compromised by the regrets of the former and the rashness of the latter. In spite of every mistake the National Assembly was the mother of French liberties. Its ideas have reappeared in all the French constitutions and are now fundamental in the French political state.

XXIX

INEFFECTUAL COALITION OF THE KINGS AGAINST THE
REVOLUTION

(1792-1802)

The Legislative Assembly (1791-1792). — This Assembly, so tame in comparison with its two great and terrible sisters, the National Assembly and the Convention, began its sessions on October 1, 1791, and ended them on September 21, 1792. Its leaders, the Girondists, Brissot, Pétion, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Ducos, Isnard and Valazé, labored to overthrow the monarchy, although leaving the extremists to initiate the Republic. In consequence the Republic was founded in blood which the Girondists might have founded in moderation.

Effect Outside France produced by the Revolution. The First Coalition (1791). — To the internal difficulties which the National Assembly had encountered, the embarrassment of foreign complications was added under the Legislative Assembly. The Revolution had awakened in foreign lands numerous echoes of its principles and hopes. In Belgium, in Italy, in Holland, all along the Rhine and in the heart of Germany, in England and even in distant Russia, it seemed a promise of deliverance. The French ambassador to the court of the Tsar wrote in his memoirs: "Although the Bastille certainly was not a menace to any one here, I cannot describe the enthusiasm which the fall of that state prison and the first tempestuous triumph of liberty excited among the merchants, the tradesmen, the burghers and some young men of higher rank. Frenchmen, Russians, Germans, Englishmen, Danes, Dutchmen, everybody in the streets, congratulated and embraced each other as though they had been delivered from a ponderous chain which pressed upon them."

The Swiss historian, von Müller, beheld in this victory the will of Providence. The philosophers and poets, Kant

and Fichte, Schiller and Goethe, then thought the same. The latter said, on the evening of Valmy: "In this place and on this day a new era for the world begins." Five years later he again recalled, in *Hermann and Dorothea*, "those days of sweet hope, when one felt his heart beat more freely in his breast, in the early rays of the new sun." Thus at first the nations sympathized with France, because they understood that for them also Mirabeau and his colleagues had drawn up at Versailles the new charter of society.

But the princes were all the more incensed against this Revolution which threatened not to confine itself, like the English revolution of 1688, to the country where it had broken out.

As early as January, 1791, the emperor of Germany haughtily demanded that the German princes who held possessions in Alsace, Lorraine and Franche-Comté should be secured in their feudal rights. The emigrants found every facility for collecting troops at Coblenz and Worms. The Count d'Artois kept up with the emperor, according to the king's own confession, negotiations which had culminated in a secret convention. The sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, Piedmont and Spain, and even the aristocratic rulers of Switzerland, bound themselves to place 100,000 men on the frontiers of the kingdom (May, 1791). This convention had determined the flight of the king (June 20). The National Assembly, moved by apprehension rather than certain knowledge, had replied by voting a levy of 300,000 national guards for the defence of the territory.

At that time, the various wars in which the Northern powers were engaged, the Swedes against the Russians, the Russians against the Ottomans, the Ottomans against the Austrians, the Austrians against the Belgians, were nearing their end. Prussia had recovered from the anxiety which all those armaments in her vicinity had excited. Austria finally put down the insurrection of the Belgians, though the hatred of foreign domination survived. The peace of Sistova with the Ottomans left the Austrian emperor free to act. He and the king of Prussia had an interview at Pilnitz, where a plan was drawn up for the invasion of France and the restoration of Louis XVI. The famous declaration of Pilnitz was made on August 27, 1791. The Legislative Assembly assumed a haughty tone with these monarchs. "If the

princes of Germany continue to favor the preparations directed against the French, the French will carry among them, not fire and sword, but liberty. It is for them to calculate what results may follow this awakening of the nations." Louis XVI transmitted to the Powers a request for the withdrawal of their troops from the French frontiers. They maintained "the legality of the league of the sovereigns, united for the security and the honor of their crowns." The king of Sweden, Gustavus III, offered to put himself at the head of a sort of royal crusade against the revolutionists.

Thus between the two principles the struggle which had arisen, first at Versailles and then at Paris, between the king and the Assembly, after the defeat of absolutism in France, was about to be continued on the frontier between France and Europe. The princes who, like the French kings, had seized absolute power, were unwilling to abandon it. They entered into a coalition "for the safety of their crowns" against the political reform which the States General had inaugurated and which they esteemed the common enemy. Thus they were about to enter upon that frightful war of twenty-three years' duration, which for them, except at the very end, was only one long series of disasters, but which excited passion as well as heroism, and covered France equally with blood and glory.

The Commune of Paris. The Days of June 20 and August 10, 1792. The Massacres of September.—The first decrees of the Assembly, after the declaration of Pilnitz, dealt a blow at the emigrants and the nonjuring priests who, by their refusal to take the civic oath, had become sources of trouble in La Vendée and Brittany. At first, the king was unwilling to approve those decrees. The declaration of war, which he made against Austria on April 20, 1792, was not sufficient to dissipate the fear of secret negotiations on the part of the court with the enemy. The rout of the French troops at the engagement of Quiévrain caused the cry of treason to be raised. The constitutional party, which was friendly to the king and had at first predominated in the Assembly, could not control the municipal council of Paris. A Girondist, Piéton, was appointed mayor in preference to La Fayette. From that time forth the most violent propositions against royalty originated at the city hall. They were repeated and still further exaggerated in the famous clubs of the

Jacobins and the Cordeliers. They thence spread among the people by the thousand voices of the press and especially by the journal of Marat, who was beginning his sanguinary dictatorship. The masses did not long resist such appeals, which seemed justified by the threats from abroad and by the inadequate measures taken for defence of the territory. On June 20 the Tuileries were invaded. The king, insulted to his face, was constrained to put on the red cap. In vain did La Fayette demand reparation for this violation of the royal dwelling. He himself was proscribed two months later and forced to quit his army and France. He had been the last hope of the constitutional party. His flight announced the triumph of the Republicans.

The Duke of Brunswick invaded France. His insolent manifesto (July 25), threatening death to every armed inhabitant who should be captured, and the declaration of the Assembly that the country was in danger, fanned still further the popular excitement. France responded to the patriotic appeal of Paris. But with cries of hatred for foreigners were mingled denunciations of the court, the secret ally of the enemy. On August 10 volunteers from Marseilles and Brittany, the people of the faubourgs and many companies of the national guard attacked the Tuileries and massacred its defenders. The king took refuge in the midst of the Assembly, which declared him suspended from his functions and imprisoned him and all the royal family in the Temple. Four thousand persons perished in the tumult.

As the constitution had been repudiated, a convention was summoned to draw up a new one. Before it assembled, and when by its approaching end the Legislative Assembly had finally lost its little remaining authority, a great crime startled France. The prisons of Paris were forced between the second and the fifth of September and 966 prisoners were butchered. Danton had uttered these sinister words: "We must terrify the royalists. Audacity! Audacity! and still more audacity!" A small body of assassins, supported by the Commune, had committed this crime, which the Assembly and the frightened burghers allowed to be perpetrated and which to the grief and shame of France was to be repeated.

Invasion of France. Defeat of the Prussians at Valmy, September 20, 1792.—However, hostilities had begun.

The moment had been well chosen by the Powers. All their wars in the North and the East were finished. England herself had just imposed peace upon Tippoo Sahib, and had acquired half his states. France was menaced on three sides: on the north by the Austrians; on the Moselle by the Prussians, and in the direction of the Alps by the king of Sardinia. The rawness of the troops and the mutual distrust between officers and soldiers in the army of the North, at first occasioned some disorders, which were speedily repaired by the capture of several cities. Savoy and Nice were conquered. The Prussians, who had entered Champagne, were defeated by Dumouriez at the important battle of Valmy and driven back upon the Rhine. Custine, assuming the offensive, seized Spire, Worms and Mayence, whose inhabitants regarded his soldiers rather as liberators than as enemies. The attention and forces of Prussia had been again directed towards Poland. She desired to finish her work of spoliation in that unhappy country rather than undertake the dangerous but chivalrous task of freeing the queen of France. The Austrians, more interested in the defence of a princess of their blood, inaugurated at Lille a savage war. Instead of attacking the defences, they bombarded the city and in six days burned 450 houses. Their cruelty was useless. They were forced to raise the siege, while, with the army of Valmy, Dumouriez won (November 6) the battle of Jemmapes, which placed the Netherlands in his power.

The Convention (1792-1795). Proclamation of the French Republic, September 21, 1792. Death of Louis XVI.—At its first sitting the Convention abolished royalty and proclaimed the Republic. On December 3 it decided that Louis XVI must be brought to trial. This decision was contrary to the Constitution, which declared the king inviolable and subject to no other penalty than deposition.

Louis was condemned in advance. The venerable Malesherbes solicited and obtained the honor of defending his former master. A young lawyer, Desèze, was the spokesman. "I seek in you judges," he said, "and I behold only accusers." He spoke the truth. The situation was desperate. England was threatening. The Austrians were about to make the greatest efforts and a coalition of all Europe was impending. "Let us throw them the head of a king as a challenge!" exclaimed Danton. Louis ascended

the scaffold on January 21, 1793. Men had believed that the fall of that royal head would create an impassable abyss between old France and new France. It was the monarchy rather than the individual which they beheaded. Carnot wept on signing the death-warrant of Louis. Thus the perverted doctrine of the common welfare added another crime to history. Again men had forgotten that the common weal springs from great hearts, not from the executioner.

The Reign of Terror.—At the news of the death of Louis XVI the still hesitating powers declared against France. All the French were threatened and civil war burst out in La Vendée and Brittany. The Constitution everywhere held its own. Carnot organized fourteen armies. A revolutionary tribunal was created which pronounced judgment without appeal and punished with death a word, a regret or even the mere name which a man bore (March 10, 1793). The desertion of Dumouriez, who forsook his army and escaped to the Austrian camp (April 4, 1793) increased the alarm and caused revolutionary measures to be multiplied. In order that none of those who were called traitors might escape, the convention abrogated the inviolability of its members. It even resigned a part of its prerogatives by creating in its bosom a Committee of Public Safety, which was invested with the executive power. In fact suspicion was rife everywhere. Robespierre firmly believed that the Girondists wished to dismember France and surrender it to foreigners. The Girondists thought that Marat, Robespierre and Danton wished to make the Duke of Orleans king, then to assassinate him and found a triumvirate from which Danton would expel his two colleagues and reign alone. Each with conviction attributed to his adversaries the most absurd plans. From distrust arose panic, that terrible counsellor, and the axe hung suspended above and striking upon all heads. This system is called The Terror.

The executioners were dominated by it as much as were the victims and were in consequence still more merciless.

The party of the Mountain, whose leaders were Marat, Danton and Robespierre, caused a formal accusation to be passed against thirty-one Girondists (June 2), many of whom had escaped and were rousing the departments to insurrection. Then Caen, Bordeaux, Lyons, Marseilles, and most

of the cities of the south declared against the Convention. Toulon with the whole Mediterranean fleet was delivered over to the English. Condé and Valenciennes fell into the hands of the enemy. Mayence, then occupied by French troops, capitulated. The enemy invaded both the northern and southern frontiers. At the same time the insurgents in La Vendée were everywhere victorious and another enemy, a frightful famine, was added to the general disorder.

The cause of the Revolution, defended by less than thirty departments, seemed lost. The Convention saved it by displaying a savage energy. Merlin drew up the law concerning suspected persons, which cast more than 300,000 persons into prison. Barrère declared in the name of the Committee of Public Safety: "The Republic is now only an immense besieged city. France must henceforth be only one vast camp. All ages are summoned by the fatherland to defend liberty. The young men will fight. The married men will forge arms. The women will make clothes and tents for the soldiers. The children will turn old linen into lint. The aged will have themselves carried to the public squares to excite courage." Twelve hundred thousand men were raised. Bordeaux and Lyons returned to their duty. Bonaparte, then an artillery captain, retook Toulon. The Vendéans were driven from the gates of Nantes, and Jourdan, who commanded the principal army, checked the allies.

All these achievements were not accomplished without terrible intestine commotions. The nobles and priests, proscribed as suspects, perished in crowds upon the scaffolds which were erected in all the towns. Carrier, Fréron, Collot-d'Herbois, Couthon, Fouché and Barras were merciless. The assassination of Marat by Charlotte Corday, who thought that by killing him she was killing the Terror (July 13), rendered it more implacable. Queen Marie Antoinette, her sister Madame Elizabeth, Bailly, the Girondist leaders, the Duke of Orleans, General Custine, Madame Roland, Lavoisier, Malesherbes and a thousand other illustrious heads fell. Then the party of the Mountain fell upon one another. Robespierre and Saint Just, supported by the powerful society of the Jacobins, first proscribed the hideous partisans of the anarchist Hébert and then Camille Desmoulins and Danton, who had suggested clemency.

The Ninth of Thermidor, or July 27, 1794. — Not yet could peace reign among the remnants of the Mountain. Robes-

ierre was threatening many of the fiercest leaders and several members of the Committee whose dictatorship he wished to destroy for his own advantage. Among them were Fouché, Tallien, Carrier, Billaud-Varennes, Collet-d'Herbois, Vadier and Amar. On the ninth of Thermidor these men succeeded in decreeing a formal act of accusation against Robespierre, Couthon, Saint Just and two other representatives, Lebas and the younger Robespierre, who demanded the right to share their fate. One hundred of Robespierre's followers perished with him. Two days earlier, this revolution would have saved the young and noble André Chénier.

Several of the men who had overthrown Robespierre had themselves been extreme partisans of the Terror. But such was the force of public opinion that they were compelled to represent themselves as favorable to moderation. Thus the fall of Robespierre became the signal for a reaction which, despite some frightful excesses, nevertheless allowed France to take breath. The guillotine ceased to be the means of government. Though the parties still continued for a long time to proscribe each other, the people at least no longer were afforded the hideous spectacle of thirty or forty heads every day falling under the knife.

Glorious Campaigns of 1793-1795. — After the death of Louis XVI the coalition of Austria, Prussia and Piedmont was joined by England, who readily improved the opportunity to deprive France of her commerce and her colonies. Spain and Naples through family reasons, Holland and Portugal through obedience to England, and the German Empire under the pressure of its two leading states, had also entered it. This was to declare almost universal war against France. Distance for a time prevented Russia from taking part. Denmark and Sweden resolutely maintained neutrality.

Fortunately for France, Austria and Prussia were mainly occupied by Polish affairs and the invading armies frittered their strength away in sieges. Instead of fighting for principles, each hostile country hoped to aggrandize itself at the expense of France. Thus the English wished to seize or destroy the French posts in Flanders. The Austrians desired the French fortresses on the Scheldt. The Prussians counted upon seizing Alsace and the Spaniards aimed at Roussillon. But while the allies wasted three months before Condé, Valenciennes and Mayence, and another month in preparation for the siege of Dunkirk, Le Quesnoy, Mau-

beuge and Landau, the French volunteers were getting into shape, their armies were being organized and their generals were gaining experience without losing their dash. At the end of August, 1793, the situation of France, attacked at every frontier and torn by civil war, seemed desperate. By the end of December she was everywhere victorious. Houchard had routed the English at Hondschoote, Jourdan had defeated the Austrians at Wattignies, Bonaparte had recaptured Toulon, and Hoche had carried the lines of Wissemburg. Moreover the tedious Vendean war was drawing to a close.

A few months afterwards the victory of Fleury gave France the Netherlands. The Spaniards were driven back beyond the Pyrenees, the Piedmontese beyond the Alps, the imperialists and the Prussians beyond the Rhine, and during the winter Pichegru fought his way into Holland. These reverses induced Spain and Prussia to abandon the coalition. Spain, at the mercy of a shameless court, was appalled at the sound of arms. Prussia needed repose in order to assimilate Poland, which had been finally dismembered.

England, Austria, Sardinia and the South German states remained in line. Russia entered their league and sent her vessels to assist England in starving the French coasts and in building an immense British colonial empire. The subsidies from the English aristocracy fed the war and prevented defections of the allies. While men aimlessly cut one another's throats on the Rhine, the English fleets scoured the seas and seized the vessels and trading posts of France and of her ally, Holland.

On land the young volunteers had quickly learned how to fight the veterans of Frederick II. But maritime war demands other tactics and long practice. All the brilliant naval staff which had combated England in the American Revolutionary War had emigrated. The French fleets had no sea-captains and were always worsted in sea-fight. In 1794, Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, formerly captain of a merchantman, with twenty-six vessels manned by peasants attacked an English fleet of thirty-eight sail, in order to protect the disembarkation of an immense convoy of grain. The convoy passed, a part of France was saved from famine, but the French fleet lost seven ships. One of them, *Le Vengeur*, rather than strike its flag, went to the bottom, its

crew singing the Marseillaise. Martinique, Guadaloupe and even Corsica, which could not be defended, were seized by the English.

Constitution of the Year III. The Thirteenth of Vendémiaire or October 5, 1795. — But the Convention, issuing victorious from the tumults which followed the overthrow of Robespierre, repealed the democratic Constitution of 1793, which had not yet been put in execution, and intrusted the legislative power to two councils, the Five Hundred and the Ancients. It confided the executive power to a Directory of five members, one of whom was to be changed each year. At first the Convention had centralized everything. Now everything was divided. The legislative power was to have two heads, which is not too many for good counsel, but the executive power was to have five, which is unfavorable to action. Thus they hoped to escape dictatorship and to create a moderate republic. The result was a republic feeble and doomed to anarchy. The local assemblies accepted the Constitution, but disorders broke out in Paris. The royalists, who had so often suffered from sedition, committed the error of employing it in their turn. They carried with them many companies of the national guard, who marched in arms upon the Convention. Barras, whom the Assembly had appointed general-in-chief, charged Napoleon Bonaparte with its defence. That fifth of October began the successes and assured the triumph of the young officer, whose astute management overcame the superiority of numbers. Three weeks later the Convention declared its mission at an end (October 26).

In the midst of civil commotions and foreign victories, the Convention had pursued its political and social reforms. In order to strengthen the unity of France it decreed national education. It founded the Normal School, several colleges, primary and veterinary schools, schools of law and medicine, the Conservatory of Music, the Institute and the Museum of Natural History. It also established unity of weights and measures by the metrical system. By the sale of national property it enabled many to become proprietors. By the creation of the public ledger, it founded the state credit. By the invention of the aerial telegraph the orders of the central government could be transmitted rapidly to the very frontiers, and establishment of museums revived taste for the arts. The Convention wished to have the in-

firm and foundlings brought together and cared for by the country. The last act of these terrible legislators was a decree that the death penalty should be abolished after the general pacification.

The Directory (1795-1799).— Before it dissolved the Convention decreed that two-thirds of the members of the Council of the Ancients and of the Council of the Five Hundred, should be chosen from the members of the Convention. Thus the latter formed the majority in the Council. They elected as directors Laréveillère-Lepeaux, Carnot, Rewbell, Letourneur and Barras. These five directors established themselves in the palace of the Luxembourg. The situation was difficult. The local elective councils, which were to administer the departments, the cantons and the communes, were doing nothing or doing it badly. This paralysis of authority was compromising all the interests of the country. The treasury was empty. The paper currency was completely discredited. Commerce and industries no longer existed. The armies lacked provisions, clothing and even ammunition. But three such years of war had developed soldiers and generals. Moreau commanded the army of the Rhine and Jourdan that of Sambre-et-Meuse. Hoche kept watch over the coasts of the ocean to defend them against the English and to pacify Brittany and La Vendée. And in conclusion, he who was destined to eclipse them all, Bonaparte, then twenty-seven years of age, had just won on October 5 the command of the Army of the Interior, which he soon afterwards exchanged for that of the Army of Italy.

Campaigns of Bonaparte in Italy (1796-1797).— On placing himself at their head, he found his troops pent up in the Alps, where they were struggling painfully with the Sardinian troops, while the Austrians were threatening Genoa and marching on the Var. With the eye of genius Bonaparte chose his field of battle. Instead of wearing out his forces amid sterile rocks where no great blows could be struck, he flanked the Alps, whose passage he might have forced. By this skilful manœuvre he placed himself between the Austrians and the Piedmontese, cut them in pieces, defeated them in succession, drove the former into the Apennines and the latter back upon their capital, and thrust the sword into the loins of the Sardinian army until it laid down its arms. Thus delivered from one enemy, he turned upon the other.

In vain did the Austrian Beaulieu, alarmed by his defeats at Montenotte (April 11), Millesimo (April 14), Dego (April 15), and Mondovi (April 22), retreat with utmost speed. Bonaparte followed him, overtook him and crushed him. At Lodi the Austrians tried to stop him. The French fought their way across the river over a narrow bridge and won a magnificent victory. Beaulieu was succeeded by Wurmser, Austria's best general, with a larger and more veteran army. It disappeared like the first at Lonato and Castiglione (August 3 and 5), and Bassano (September 8). Alvinzi, who replaced Wurmser, was routed at Arcola (November, 1796) and at Rivoli (January, 1797). The Archduke Charles succeeded no better. All the armies and the generals of Austria dashed themselves in vain against less than 40,000 men led by a general eight and twenty years of age. On the flag which the Directory presented to the Army of Italy, were inscribed these words: "It has taken one hundred and fifty thousand prisoners, captured seventy flags, five hundred and fifty siege guns, six hundred field guns, five pontoon equipages, nine vessels, twelve frigates, twelve corvettes, eighteen galleys, has given liberty to the peoples of Northern Italy, sent to Paris the masterpieces of Michael Angelo, Guercino, Titian, Paul Veronese, Correggio, Albani, Caracci, and Raphael, gained eighteen pitched battles, and fought sixty-seven combats."

While these marvellous campaigns of Italy were going on, Jourdan had allowed himself to be beaten by the Archduke Charles at Würzburg, and Moreau, left unguarded, had found himself obliged to retreat into Alsace. His retreat was as glorious as a victory; for he took forty days to march a hundred leagues without allowing himself to be attacked. Moreover, the Army of Italy had won for France as a boundary that great river which for nearly a thousand years, had separated Gaul and Germany. The treaty of Campo Formio, signed by Bonaparte (October 17, 1797), restored to France the Rhine as her frontier. Beyond the Alps she possessed a devoted ally in the new Cisalpine republic founded in Lombardy.

Egyptian Expedition (1798-1799). Second Coalition (1798). Victory of Zurich. — Austria had laid down her arms; but the English, unassailable in their island, could not consent to allow France so many conquests. Therefore the war with

them continued. To strike them to the heart by destroying their commerce, the Directory despatched to Egypt an expedition commanded by Bonaparte. From the banks of the Nile he hoped to reach England in India and overthrow her empire there. At the battles of the Pyramids and Mount Tabor, he scattered the Mamelukes and the Turks before him. But the loss of the French fleet at Aboukir had deprived him of siege guns and caused his siege of Saint Jean d'Acre to fail. After that disaster he could accomplish nothing important by remaining in Egypt. Destroying another Turkish army at Aboukir, he quitted his conquest and returned to France.

During his absence the weakness of the Directory had permitted all the fruits of the peace of Formio to be lost. The spectacle of French internal disorganization and the absence of Bonaparte with the best French army, which seemed lost in the sands of Egypt, induced the continental Powers to lend an ear to the persuasions of Pitt. As early as 1798 that great and hostile minister began to form a second coalition against France. It was composed of Russia, where Paul I had just succeeded to Catherine II, of that part of Germany which was under Austrian influence, of the emperor, who could not console himself for having lost Milan, of Naples, Piedmont and Turkey. The alliance of the latter power with France, after lasting three centuries, had been ruptured by the expedition to Egypt. The Barbary States offered their assistance against the nation which seemed to have become the foe of the Crescent.

France, without either money or commerce, no longer borne on by the patriotic impulse of '93 and not yet possessing the military enthusiasm and strong organization of the empire, found herself exposed to the most serious dangers. Still the first operations were fortunate; Joubert drove the king of Sardinia from Turin, and Championnet proclaimed at Naples the Parthenopeian Republic. But the coalition had 360,000 soldiers against 170,000 Frenchmen. An Anglo-Russian army landed in Holland. The Archduke Charles vanquished Jourdan at Stockach, and laid siege to Kehl, opposite Strasburg. Schérer at Magnano, Macdonald at Trebia, and Joubert at Novi lost Italy, which was invaded by 100,000 Austro-Russians.

The victory of Masséna at Zurich and that of Brune at Bergen saved France from invasion.

Internal Anarchy. The Eighteenth of Brumaire, or November 9, 1799.—At home the struggle between parties was beginning again with fury, but fortunately with less bloodshed. After the overthrow of Robespierre the Revolution seemed almost desirous of retracing its steps. The emigrants returned in crowds and the royalists showed themselves everywhere. The condemnation of several hot-headed republicans, who preached the abolition of property, and the success of the “whites” in the elections, thereby giving the monarchists the majority in the councils, increased their hopes. The pretender, Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI, believed that he was on the point of being recalled and was already formulating his conditions.

To the parliamentary coup d'état which was preparing, the Directory retorted by a coup d'état of the government and the army. It proscribed two of its members: Carnot, who was unwilling to employ violence against the royalists, and Barthélemy, who was royalist at heart. It sentenced fifty-three members of the two Councils to deportation. Among them were Pichegru, Barbé-Marbois, Boissy-d'Anglas, Portalis and Camille Jordan (September 4, 1797). On May 11, 1798, there was another coup d'état, but this time it was directed against the deputies, called “patriots,” whose elections were annulled. The legislative body, thus attacked by the Directory, struck back on June 18, 1799, and three directors were forced to resign. In the Councils, at Paris, in the armies, men talked openly of overthrowing the Constitution, which by dividing the executive power compelled it to be by turns weak or violent, but never strong or apparently durable.

Thus weary of the anarchy in which a feeble and undignified government let her exist, France accepted Bonaparte as her leader on his return from the East with the prestige of fresh victories. Sieyès, one of the directors, who wished a new constitution which he had long been meditating to be accepted, thought he had found in the general a useful tool. Bonaparte did not deprive him of his illusions, but accomplished the military revolution of the eighteenth of Brumaire, or November 9, 1799, which resulted in the fall of the Directory and the creation of the Consulate.

The eighteenth of Brumaire was another national day crowned by an act of violence. Royalists and republicans, generals and magistrates, priests and laymen, had employed

alternately during the last ten years conspiracies or weapons to modify or overthrow the law.

Another Constitution. The Consulate.—In order to strengthen the executive power the new chiefs of the state were reduced from five to three, and their functions were prolonged for ten years. The three consuls were Bonaparte, Sieyès and Roger Ducos.

From the first Sieyès recognized that he had given himself a master. Bonaparte rejected his plans and had a Constitution adopted, known as that of the year VIII, which placed in his hands under the title of First Consul the most important prerogatives of authority. The two associate consuls, Cambacérès and Lebrun, had only the right of consultation.

According to the new Constitution, the laws, prepared on the order of the consuls by the council of state, were discussed by the Tribunate and adopted or rejected by the legislature. The Tribunate expressed its opinions, which the government heeded or not as it pleased, concerning existing or proposed laws, abuses to be corrected, and improvements to be introduced. When after examination by the tribunes a proposed law was submitted to the legislative body, it was discussed by three speakers from the Tribunate and by three Councillors of state. The members of the legislative body had no right to participate in the debate. They voted in silence.

The Senate, composed of eighty members appointed for life, was charged with the maintenance of the Constitution, the judgment of all acts contrary to the organic law, and the nomination from the national list of all members of the Tribunate and of the legislature. All Frenchmen twenty-one years of age and inscribed on the public registers were electors. The electors of each communal district chose a tenth of their number to draw up from among themselves a list of communal notables, and from this list the First Consul selected the public functionaries of each district. The notables placed on the communal list named a tenth of their number to form the departmental list, and from this the First Consul selected the functionaries of the department. The persons named on the departmental list drew up the national list, which included one-tenth of their number, and from which the national functionaries were chosen. Also from this third list of notables the Senate was to name the members of the Tribunate and the legislative body.

Thus the assemblies which discussed and passed the laws were the result of four successive elections. This Constitution was submitted to a plebiscite or popular vote. There were cast 3,011,007 votes in favor of its adoption and 1562 against it.

Bonaparte was known as a great general. He showed himself a still greater administrator. His first care was to reëstablish order. He himself proclaimed oblivion of the past and endeavored to reconcile all parties. He declared the former nobles eligible to public office, recalled the later exiles, reopened the churches and permitted the emigrants to return. The country districts were cleared of bandits. In order to found an administration which should be at once firm and enlightened, he constituted the departments after the pattern of the state itself. The departments had been administered by elective directories over which the central power had little influence, and which worked badly or not at all. He replaced them by a Prefect who depended directly upon the Minister of the Interior, and he concentrated all the executive authority in the hands of that official. At his side he placed the Council of the Prefecture, a sort of departmental council of state, and the General Council, a sort of legislature. The sub-prefect had also his District Council. The mayor of each commune had a Municipal Council. Each district or sub-prefecture had a civil tribunal and for the finances a special receiver. Each department had a criminal tribunal and a receiver-general. Twenty-seven appellate tribunals were instituted over the land. A Court of Cassation or Supreme Court of Appeal maintained the uniformity of jurisprudence. A commission, composed of Portalis, Tronchet, Rigot de Préameneu and de Malleville and often presided over by Bonaparte himself, prepared the civil code, which was discussed by the council of state, and which the legislative body, after full examination by the great judicial bodies and the Tribunate, adopted in 1804. One of the most useful creations of this period was the Bank of France, which has rendered great services to the country in times of difficulty.

Marengo. Peace of Lunéville and of Amiens.—The royalists, disappointed in their hopes, raised the standard of insurrection in the west. By energetic measures Bonaparte stifled this new civil war. On the frontiers, especially in the direction of Italy, serious dangers menaced the Republic. The situation of 1796 seemed repeated. Instead

of flanking the Alps, as on the former occasion, Bonaparte crossed them by the Pass of St. Bernard and fell upon the rear guard of Melas who, master of Genoa, was threatening to cross the Var. By the single battle of Marengo he reconquered Italy (June 14, 1800). This dazzling success and the victory of Moreau at Hohenlinden forced Austria to sign the peace of Lunéville (February 9, 1801).

England alone, still governed by Pitt the mortal enemy of France, obstinately persisted in war. But men's eyes were opening. They began to see why that one power, which gained by the war in which all the other powers were the losers, refused to lay down arms. The ideas, which twenty years earlier had armed against England the northern Powers, again made their appearance in the councils of the kings. The Tsar, the kings of Prussia, Denmark and Sweden, whose commerce the English were molesting, renewed the League of the Neutrals (December, 1800). England replied by placing an embargo in her ports on the vessels of the allied states, and Nelson forcing the passage of the Sund threatened Copenhagen with bombardment. This audacious act and the assassination of Paul I broke up the League of the Neutrals. The new Tsar, Alexander I, renounced the policy of his father, and France found herself left to defend the liberty of the seas alone. The capitulation of Malta after a blockade of twenty-six months and the evacuation of Egypt by the French army seemed to justify the persistence of England; but she was staggering under a debt of over \$2,000,000,000, enormous even for her. The misery of her laboring classes produced bloody riots. For a long time the Bank of London had paid out no coin. Moreover the French marine was springing into new life. At Boulogne immense preparations were under way for an invasion of England. Just as the peace of Lunéville was signed Pitt fell from power. A few months later the new ministry concluded with France the preliminaries of the peace which was signed at Amiens, March 25, 1802. The acquisitions of France and the republics which she had founded were recognized. England restored the French colonies, gave back Malta to the Knights, and the Cape to the Dutch. She retained only the Spanish Island of Trinidad, and Ceylon, which completed her establishment in India. Peace was reestablished on all the continents and on all the seas. The coalition of the kings was vanquished!

XXX

GREATNESS OF FRANCE

(1802-1811)

The Consulate for Life.—The treaty of Amiens carried the glory of Bonaparte to the zenith. For the second time he had given peace to France. Egypt was indeed lost and an expedition, intended to make the blacks of San Domingo recognize the authority of France, was doomed to failure. But those distant misfortunes hardly awakened an echo at home. They were forgotten as men beheld parties calmed and order reviving everywhere under the firm, skilful hand of the First Consul.

He renewed the powerful impulse imparted by Colbert to manufactures. Commerce was encouraged, the finances were reorganized, the roads and ports repaired, the arsenals stocked. At Paris he threw three bridges across the Seine. Between the valleys of the Seine and the Oise he dug the canal of Saint Quentin. Between France and Italy he opened the magnificent road of the Simplon, and founded hospices on the summits of the Alps. The civil code was being discussed under his supervision, and he was already elaborating the project of complete organization of national education. A marvellous activity and an unprecedented ability to labor made him see everything, understand everything, do everything. Arts and letters received from him precious encouragement. For the purpose of rewarding civil and military services, talent and courage, he instituted the Order of the Legion of Honor, a glorious system of social distinction which the spirit of equality could accept. A stranger to the hatreds of the past ten years, he welcomed the exiles, recalled the priests, and signed the Concordat with the Pope. He tried to efface petty animosities and to form only one great party, that of France. Finally, while he harnessed the Revolution to his chariot, he preserved its principles in his civil code and thereby rendered it imperishable.

But he could not disarm all his enemies. Every day fresh conspiracies were formed against his life. The infernal machine of the Rue Saint Nicaise came near destroying his life. In order, as he himself said, to make his enemies tremble even in London, he caused the execution of Georges Cadoudal who had come to Paris to assassinate him. He exiled Moreau and imprisoned Pichegru, who strangled himself in his cell. Seizing the Duke d'Enghien contrary to international law at the castle of Ettenheim in the margravate of Baden, he handed him over to a military commission which condemned and executed him that same night in the moat of Vincennes (March 20, 1804).

On August 2, 1802, four months after the treaty of Amiens, he was appointed consul for life. In order to bring institutions into harmony with its new powers, the Constitution was remodelled. The lists of notables were replaced by electoral colleges for life, and important changes were made to the advantage of the Senate. Invested with the constituent power, this body had the right of regulating by senatorial decrees whatever had not been provided for in fundamental laws, to suspend the jury and to dissolve the legislature and the Tribunal. But organic senatorial decrees were to be previously discussed in a privy council, all of whose members were to be selected each time by the First Consul.

Bonaparte Hereditary Emperor (May 18, 1804). — Admiration for a transcendent genius, gratitude for great services, and a crying need of order after so many agitations, caused these dangerous innovations to be accepted. A few members protested in the Tribunal. But the murmurs of Daunou, Lanjuinais, Chénier, Carnot and Benjamin Constant, like the opposition of Madame de Staël and Châteaubriand, were lost in the splendor which surrounded the new power. Finally the Senate invited the First Consul to rule the French Republic with the title of hereditary emperor as Napoleon I. The mighty master of France was unable to master himself and to restrain his ambition.

More than three and a half million voters declared in favor of the empire. Pope Pius VII himself came to Paris and crowned the new Charlemagne on December 2, 1804. To give the throne which had just been set up the brilliancy of the old monarchies and to unite under the same titles the men of the Revolution and those of the old régime,

Napoleon created a new nobility of counts, dukes and princes. He appointed eighteen titled Marshals: Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Masséna, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, Kellerman, Lefèvre, Pérignon and Serrurier, with large endowments in money and lands. Again were seen officers of the court, its great dignitaries, its chamberlains and even its pages.

Napoleon was president of the Italian Republic. Having become emperor in France, he became king of Italy (March 18, 1805). That fair country, enervated by a servitude of four or five centuries' duration and by divisions which dated from the fall of the Roman Empire, was then unable either to defend itself, or of itself to unite. If the hand of France were withdrawn, either Austria would seize it once more or it would fall back again into its eternal rivalries. "You have only local laws," said Napoleon to the deputies of the Cisalpine Republic; "you need general laws." That is to say, they were only municipalities, hostile to each other, and ought to become a state. The unity which Napoleon I wished to give the inhabitants by first making them French, Napoleon III afterwards assured them by leaving them Italians.

Beginning with 1803 the emperor was Mediator of the Helvetian Republic. He took advantage of the right conferred upon him by this title to give Switzerland a constitution which, by maintaining peace between the rival cantons, ultimately led the Swiss to form a real nation without destroying local patriotism. Six new cantons, Argovie, Thurgovie, Saint Gall, Grisons, Vaud and Tessin, were added to the thirteen old cantons, and all unjust privileges disappeared. After the proclamation of the empire, Napoleon made no change in his relations toward Switzerland, but took many Swiss regiments into his service.

Third Coalition. Austerlitz and the Treaty of Presburg (1805).—Pitt returned to the ministry on May 15, 1804. Thus the war party again obtained the upper hand. In fact England could not bring herself to evacuate Malta despite her word pledged at the treaty of Amiens, and without declaring war she seized 1200 French and Dutch ships. Napoleon replied to this provocation by invading Hanover, the patrimony of the English king, and by immediately setting on foot preparations to cross the

Straits of Dover with an army. The American Fulton offered the means for crossing by the steamboat which he had constructed, but his proposals were refused. England was in danger. Nelson himself failed against the Boulogne flotilla which, should the tempest drive away the English vessels for a few days or should a calm render them motionless, was ready to transport 150,000 men on its thirteen hundred boats. Admiral Villeneuve with the Toulon fleet might have protected the passage, but he lacked the daring. Through fearing a defeat in the Channel, he suffered a terrible disaster a few months later on the coast of Spain at Trafalgar (October 21, 1805).

England had warded off the peril by dint of gold. She subsidized a third coalition, which Sweden, Russia, Austria and Naples entered. Prussia held back and awaited developments. The emperor was in the camp at Boulogne when he learned that 160,000 Austrians, preceding a Russian army, were advancing under Archduke Charles upon the Adige and under General Mack on the Rhine. He was compelled to postpone his invasion. Napoleon immediately broke up his camp at Boulogne, sent the grand army post haste to the Rhine and, while Masséna held back the archduke's vanguard, flanked Mack, shut him up in Ulm and forced his surrender (October 19). Two days later the destruction of the French fleet at Trafalgar forced him to renounce the sea, where he could not cope with his enemy.

Still he controlled the land and was already planning the ruin of the English by closing the continent to them. On November 19, he entered Vienna, and on December 2, he won the battle of Austerlitz over the emperors of Austria and Russia. The remnants of the Russian army returned to their country by forced marches. Austria at the treaty of Presburg ceded the Venetian states with Istria and Dalmatia, which Napoleon united to the kingdom of Italy. She also surrendered the Tyrol and Austrian Suabia to the Dukes of Würtemberg, Bavaria and Baden. The first two princes he made kings and the third a grand duke. Thus by the cession of Venice Austria lost all influence over Italy, and by that of the Tyrol all influence over Switzerland. The proposed cession of Hanover to the court of Berlin in exchange for Clèves and Neuchâtel, was designed to remove Prussia also from the French frontier.

The Confederation of the Rhine and the Vassal States of the Empire.— The emperor dreamed of inaugurating a new European system. He wished to be the Charlemagne of modern Europe. He had conceived a plan of empire which was not completed until after Tilsit. Still, we may present it now as a whole, so as to escape returning to it again. Resuming the idea which Mazarin had cherished of a league among the states of western Germany, he organized after Austerlitz the Confederation of the Rhine. The old Germanic empire was dissolved after a duration of ten centuries. Francis II, reduced to his hereditary domains, abdicated the title of Holy Roman Emperor to assume that of emperor of Austria. The 370 petty states, which shared among them the German soil and maintained permanent anarchy, were reduced to thirty or forty. Thereby the more powerful states were enlarged and some of their princes received from France the name and the dignity of kings. They were united under the protection of Napoleon into a federated state, from which the half-Slav states, Prussia and Austria, were excluded.

The new diet which sat at Frankfort was divided into two colleges. The College of Kings comprised the kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg, the prince primate, ex-electoral of Mayence, the Grand Dukes of Baden, Berg and Hesse-Darmstadt. The College of Princes included the Dukes of Nassau, Hohenzollern, Salm and others. The nobles, whose possessions were enclosed within the territories of these divers princes and whom former emperors had favored so as to weaken their greater vassals, were made subject to their territorial chiefs, and were thus deprived of their sovereign legislative and judicial rights and of control of police, taxation and recruiting. Each of the confederated states was to be absolutely free in its internal government. Resolutions in common were taken only with reference to foreign relations. Though successively enlarged, the Confederation comprehended but thirty-four members in 1813. Nevertheless Napoleon had made Germany take an immense step toward unity. For this progress France was ultimately to pay dearly by the suppression of the Diet of Frankfort and by the establishment of a new German empire far more powerful than the old.

But for the advancement of civil order in Germany and for the maintenance of European peace, the idea of inter-

posing between the three great military states of France, Prussia and Austria a confederation, which would be slow in action and necessarily pacific and which would prevent their frontiers from touching, was a happy combination. In order to make the plan truly successful, Napoleon should have left the confederates really independent. By trying to render this Confederation of the Rhine too French, his exactions repelled the Germans of the centre and west, then friendly to France, toward the northern and eastern Germans from whom it was his interest to separate them. Had the emperor confined himself to his first conception of the treaty of Presburg and of the Confederation of the Rhine, he would have assured for a long time the peace of Europe and the grandeur of France.

The creation of this new state was only a part in the stupendous plan of bold combinations which his genius had in mind. He made all his own relatives kings and princes. His three brothers, Louis, Jerome and Joseph, became kings of Holland, Westphalia and Naples. Eugene de Beauharnais, his stepson, was viceroy of Italy. Murat, his brother-in-law, was made Grand Duke of Berg and afterwards king of Naples, when Napoleon judged it expedient to transfer Joseph to Madrid as king of Spain. His sister Elisa was Princess of Lucca and Piombino, and later on Grand Duchess of Tuscany. His other sister, Pauline, was Duchess of Guastalla. He himself was king of Italy and mediator of Switzerland. His ministers, his marshals and the great officers of the crown, had sovereign principalities outside France. Thus did Berthier at Neuchâtel, Talleyrand at Benevento, Bernadotte at Pontecorvo. Others had duchies in Lombardy, the Neapolitan territory, or the states of Venice and Illyria, without feudal power, it is true, but yet with a share in the public property and revenues.

Thus dynastic policy replaced national policy. Napoleon was guilty of the imprudence of placing in one family, but yesterday poor and obscure, more crowns than the ancient houses of Hapsburg and Bourbon had ever worn. But by this sudden elevation of all his kindred he thought that he was serving France even more than his own house. Believing in the strength of administrative organization rather than in that of ideas or popular sentiments, he imagined that he was fortifying his empire by surrounding it with these feudatory states, like so many buttresses to support it and

advance posts to guard its approaches. These kings, princes and dukes, who were renewing royal races in so many countries, were only prefects of France seated on thrones and wearing the ermine. No one could fail to recognize that, under one form or another, half of Europe obeyed Napoleon.

Jena (1806) and Tilsit (1807).—In face of this daily increasing ambition it was inevitable that those powers which were still erect should do what France had done legitimately in the sixteenth century against the house of Austria and Europe in the seventeenth century against the house of Bourbon. That the weaker should unite to repress him who aims at omnipotence is a necessary policy. Thus Napoleon was himself largely responsible if war was always either threatening or declared.

The cannon of Austerlitz had killed William Pitt. His rival, Fox, a man of larger scope and without the former's hatred for France, succeeded as minister. Napoleon immediately offered to treat. As the restitution of Hanover, the patrimony of the English kings, would be the guarantee of a durable peace, he suggested the possibility of this arrangement. Prussia, who believed that she already held in her grasp this long-coveted province, was angered at what she considered a piece of perfidy. The death of Fox having restored power to the war party, the court of Berlin commenced hostilities. The victories of Jena and Auerstadt broke the Prussian monarchy (1806). Behind Prussia Napoleon again found the Russians. After the drawn battle of Eylau, he crushed them at Friedland, and the Emperor Alexander signed the treaty of Tilsit which reduced Prussia by a half and gave Finland to Russia (1807).

The Continental Blockade.—A few days after Jena Napoleon endeavored to attack England by promulgating the decree of Berlin. It declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade and forbade all commerce with them. This was an act of reprisal against the maritime despotism of the English. But in order to render it effective it was necessary that not a single port of the continent should remain open to British merchandise. After having closed the ports of Holland, northern Germany and Prussia, he must necessarily close those of Russia and Spain, which was equivalent to rendering himself the master everywhere. The continental blockade was a gigantic engine of war, sure to deal a

mortal blow to one of the two antagonists. It was Napoleon whom it slew.

Invasion of Spain (1807-1808). — As Portugal refused to join in the new policy, Napoleon formed an army corps to drive the English from that kingdom. The court of Madrid was then presenting to the world a pitiable spectacle. Ferdinand, the heir presumptive, was conspiring against his father Charles IV who was wholly controlled by Godoy, an unworthy favorite, and he in terror besought the aid of the emperor. Napoleon employed duplicity out of keeping with his strength. He invited the two princes to Bayonne and persuaded the aged monarch to abdicate in his favor (May 9, 1808). Ferdinand was relegated under a vigilant guard to the castle of Valençay. Charles retired with a sort of court to Compiègne. Napoleon wished to resume the policy of Louis XIV and make sure of Spain on the south, so as to have full freedom of action in the north. The idea was correct, but its execution was unwise. This attempt to lay hands on Spain was a main cause in the fall of the Empire.

The French troops had already entered Spain. But the courage of the French soldiers and the skill of their leaders were of no avail against the religious and patriotic fanaticism of the Spaniards. In vain did Napoleon win victories and conduct to Madrid his brother Joseph, whom he took away from his throne of Naples in order to make him king of Spain. In that mountainous land insurrection when crushed at one point reappeared at another. Moreover England all the time was furnishing arms, money, soldiers and generals.

Wagram (1809). — Despite the assurances which Napoleon received from all the continental powers at the interview of Erfurt, the English managed to organize a fifth coalition, which forced the emperor to leave his enterprise in Spain unfinished and hasten again to Germany. On May 12, 1809, he entered Vienna for the second time. On July 6, he won the sanguinary battle of Wagram, followed by the peace of Vienna. Austria lost 3,400,000 inhabitants whom France, Bavaria, Saxony, the grand duchy of Warsaw and Russia shared between them.

Napoleon then appeared to be at the acme of his power. His empire extended from the mouth of the Elbe to that of the Tiber. His marriage with the Archduchess Maria

Louisa had just secured his entrance into one of the oldest royal houses in Europe. The birth of a son (March 20, 1811), who was proclaimed King of Rome in his cradle, but was to die Duke of Reichstadt, was his last gift from fortune.

XXXI

VICTORIOUS COALITION OF PEOPLES AND KINGS
AGAINST NAPOLEON

(1811-1815)

Popular Reaction against the Spirit of Conquest represented by Napoleon. — The revolution of 1688 in England remained wholly English, so it did not leave its own island. The French Revolution was cosmopolitan. The members of the French National Assembly, not merely solicitous of the ancient liberties of the country, had the larger idea of rights common to all men united in society. Thus they placed the Declaration of Rights as a preamble to the Constitution of 1791. They thought of humanity no less than of France. This largeness of view constituted the grandeur and also the misery of the French Revolution. As a result the new order of things emerged from the past only with frightful throes.

But the general character of the first French Constitution and of the principles of 1789 applied as fully to the banks of the Meuse, the Rhine and the Po, as to the banks of the Seine. Hence this sentiment aided in French success. One day the Revolution abdicated its principles into the hands of a soldier of genius. He separated the legacy of 1789 into two parts. The one, liberty, he postponed; the other part, civil equality, he undertook to establish everywhere. In this task he sought the greatness of France, but above all his own. Condemned by the hatred of the English aristocracy to an endless war, he forgot in the intoxication of victory and power his true rôle and assumed that of a conqueror whose hand brushes aside or reduces to powder every obstacle. Thus at Presburg and Tilsit, Napoleon rearranged the map of Central Europe according to his will and indulged in dreams even greater than the realities of which he furnished a spectacle to the world. The nations, formerly allies of France, became for him the pieces on a chess board

wherewith he played the game solely according to the combinations of his own mind. He seized some, he delivered others, without the slightest heed to those old traditions, affections, or interests which would not change. And he never dreamed that from the midst of those masses, for a time inert, a force was soon to spring greater than that of the best drilled armies, more formidable than those coalitions of kings which he had already for four times destroyed. This force was found in the will of men resolved that they would no longer be treated like cattle which are bought and sold, yoked or separated. Indifferent at first to the fall of their royal houses, the peoples at length understood that they were the cruelly tried victims of those political convulsions. They learned that independence is not only national dignity as liberty is individual dignity, but that it is also the safeguard of personal interests. They learned that habits, ideas and one's most private feelings are sadly wounded by a foreign master, even though he presents himself with his hands full of benefits. Then, to defend their political conscience, men regained the enthusiasm which they had possessed three centuries earlier to defend their religious conscience. It is a painful confession for France, though none the less too true, that the force which shattered Napoleon and the French state was of the same nature, though of another order, as that which had shattered Philip II and the Inquisition.

Preparation for Insurrection in Germany.— After having broken up a fifth coalition at Wagram, Napoleon thought that he was more secure than ever. But his arms were no longer invincible. Junot and even Masséna were unable to conquer Portugal and General Dupont signed in 1808 the shameful capitulation of Baylen. The hopes of the enemy increased and England was confirmed in her resolution to fight to the death, when she beheld hostility against Napoleon on the part of the government gradually descending into the hearts of the people.

After Jena Prussia had given up the struggle. Army corps capitulated without a combat. Powerful fortresses surrendered without firing a shot. Nevertheless she was the principal instrument of German vengeance against France, although her own virtues did not prepare her for that great rôle. Her king, Frederick William, was a mystic and replied to those who demanded reforms by saying, "I am he

whom Providence has reserved for the welfare of Prussia." But none of the persons around him and not even he himself had the conception of anything different from the ancient Prussian monarchical system. The number of those who resigned themselves to the existing condition of affairs was very large. Germans like Stein of Nassau and Scharnhorst and Hardenberg of Hanover, who were strangers to Prussia, provoked the regeneration of that country. Baron Stein set to work immediately after Tilsit. "The sentiment of a common existence must be aroused," said he. "The forces which lie quiescent must be utilized. An alliance must be concluded between the spirit of the nation and the spirit of authority." He abolished serfdom of the soil. He granted to the peasants the right of holding property and to the cities the right of appointing their own magistrates and of administering their own affairs by elective councils. He reformed the higher administration in a liberal sense and caused it to be decided that rank and office, hitherto reserved to the nobles, should form the reward of courage and merit. Scharnhorst, on being appointed Minister of War, undertook to elude the article of the treaty of Tilsit which reduced the standing army of Prussia to 42,000 men. He insisted upon obligatory service under the flag for all men of an age to bear arms, sending them home as soon as they were sufficiently trained. In a short time in this way he prepared an army of 150,000 men who only awaited the signal of a grand uprising to make their appearance on the field of battle. These reforms, inspired by the ideas of 1789, renewed patriotism and created a public spirit in Prussia by interesting all classes of the population in the public safety. An association, founded by several professors under the title of the Association of Virtue, or Tugendbund, had at first only twenty members, but rapidly spread throughout all Germany where the affiliated were soon numbered by thousands. Its self-appointed mission was to restore "German strength and character." In 1809 one of its members, the student Staaps, tried to assassinate Napoleon at Schönbrunn. Though proscribed, the Association continued to exist in secret. It penetrated the deepest strata of the population and prepared the way for the awakening of 1813.

Progress of Liberal Ideas in Europe.—The resistance of Spain produced a great sensation in Germany. Stein turned

to profit every piece of news which reached him concerning that heroic struggle. Napoleon, a genius of the military order, took little heed of moral forces. He believed in himself and in his strategic or administrative combinations, and never dreamed that an idea could stand firm against the shot of cannon. Thus the significance of Stein's reforms escaped him. He laughed at the minister who "in default of troops of the line meditated the sublime project of raising the masses." But later on he demanded his dismissal and finally in an insulting decree dated from Madrid he proscribed "the said Stein" (1809). The insult was deeply resented throughout the whole of Prussia and Germany. Nevertheless Hardenberg continued his reforms in the emancipation of the peasants, in securing freedom of industry for the purpose of stimulating labor and in abolishing some exceptional laws levelled against the Jews. Not to leave any force unemployed, he created the University of Berlin (1810) whence Fichte was to address his discourses to the German people, and which sent as many recruits to the insurrection as did the burning poems of Arndt and Schenkendorff, the *Death Song* of Körner and the *Sonnets* of Rückert. "Then was born in tears, in blood and despair, but also in prayer and faith, the idea of liberty, the consciousness of the fatherland."

Thus liberal ideas were likewise turning against France in Spain and Italy. The Cortes of Cadiz drew up a constitution derived from the principles of 1789. It declared the sovereignty of the nation, the delegation of the executive power to the king and of the legislative power to the representatives of the country, the responsibility of the ministers and the suppression of privileges in adjusting taxation. The former king of Naples, who fled to Sicily, gave that province a constitution modelled upon that of England. Thus kings and peoples were preparing to fight France with the very weapons which at the beginning of the Revolutionary wars had ensured the conquest of the Netherlands, Holland, the right bank of the Rhine, Switzerland and Italy. Privileges were abolished. What still survived of feudalism was replaced by free institutions. As France now represented military dictatorship, an ancient and worn-out form of government, she was bound, despite the extraordinary man placed at her head, to succumb in the struggle.

Formation or Awakening of the Nations.—France was

now opposed by two irresistible forces. One force she had herself created. It was that of liberal ideas and of the sovereign rights of the nation with all the consequences which flow therefrom. The foundation of the other force she had provoked by doing violence to the peoples. This force was the new principle of nationality. Under the pressure of French weapons the Spanish insurgents and the members of the Tugendbund had recovered the fatherland, to which their ancestors in the eighteenth century had paid so little heed. While they demanded the abolition of unjust privileges, they wished to preserve their autonomy. Thus in the mountains of Castile, of the Tyrol and of Bohemia, on the banks of the Elbe and the Oder, as in the plains of Brandenburg, this idea of nationality had its birth or its revelation. It renewed history by introducing the question of race; literature, by investigation of folk songs; philology, by comparison of languages; politics, by the study of the interests which result from a common origin, a common language and common traditions. It is this idea which in our own day has made Italy and Germany into nations.

As early as 1809, when Austria had completed her armaments against France, public opinion in Germany with energy demanded that Prussia should take part in the war. Scharnhorst urged the king to this step, but Frederick William dared not undertake anything so bold. After Wagram he humbly made reparation to the victor for the premature patriotism of Prussian subjects. Nevertheless the secret movement, undermining the earth beneath the feet of the mighty autocrat of the West, was making progress. Many persons even in France discerned the signs of impending ruin. It was at this crisis that Napoleon undertook the rashest of all his expeditions.

Moscow (1812). Leipzig (1813). Campaign in France (1814). — To compel Russia not to abandon the scheme of continental blockade he led his armies 600 leagues distant from France, while 270,000 of his best troops and his most skilful captains were occupied at the other extremity of the continent in front of Cadiz and of the English army under Wellington. On June 24, 1812, he crossed the Niemen at the head of 450,000 men. Six days previous the Congress at Washington had declared war against the cabinet of St. James, because English cruisers insisted obsti-

nately on the right to search vessels engaged in American commerce. Had the emperor renounced his mad expedition to Russia, had he, as in 1804, centred his forces and his genius upon the war with England and aided the new ally who was arising on the other side of the Atlantic, unlooked-for results might have been brought about. Unfortunately he trusted in himself alone. At first the expedition appeared to be successful. The Russians were everywhere routed as at Vitesk, Smolensk and Velutina. The bloody battle of the Moskva delivered into his power Moscow, the second capital of the empire, to which the Russians set fire as they retreated.

To his misfortune he thought he had secured a peace by his victories. He waited for it and wasted precious time. When he realized that to extort it a second expedition against St. Petersburg was necessary, it was too late. It was impossible to winter in the heart of a ravaged country and he was compelled to retreat. The retreat might have escaped disaster, had not the winter been unusually early and severe, and had not provisions failed. The greater part of the army, all the horses, all the baggage, perished or were abandoned, either in the snows or at the fatal passage of the Beresina.

While the grand army was melting away, infidelity and treason against which Napoleon should have provided were breaking out behind him. He had forced Prussia, Austria and the Confederates of the Rhine to furnish him numerous contingents. But Arndt, who had taken refuge in Sweden, and Stein, who had fled to Russia, were inundating Germany with patriotic pamphlets, wherein they called upon the Germans in the French army to desert, and represented the Tsar Alexander as the liberator of the nations. Their counsels were heeded. York who commanded a part of the Prussian contingent passed over to the Russians. Frederick William III at once engaged in a two-faced policy. He assured Napoleon "that he was the natural ally of France." He informed Alexander that he was only waiting for the right moment to join him with all his people. He even suggested to Napoleon that everything might be arranged by giving the kingdom of Poland to the king of Prussia and trusting him to arrest "the aggressions of the Russian power." This proposition was a treason even to the "German fatherland," the Vaterland.

Frederick William believed that such duplicity was required by the circumstances. Therein he continued the policy of Frederick II, which justified whatever furthered the success of the Hohenzollerns. But Bülow, who commanded another Prussian corps, followed York's example. Then Stein hastened to Königsberg, the capital of the province of Prussia, which was in full revolt against the king because the latter appeared to disavow his generals and still to side with Napoleon. The states of the province organized war to the death. On February 7 was issued the order concerning the whole military force of the country, the landwehr and the landsturm. A population of a million inhabitants furnished 60,000 soldiers. Then, while still negotiating, the king of Prussia decided to take up arms. Not however till February 28, 1813, did he sign the treaty of Kalisch with Russia. But here again he did not forget the interests of his house, for he made Alexander guarantee him aggrandizement in Germany in exchange for Polish territories. He desired the acquisition of Saxony, which would strengthen Prussia toward the mountains of Bohemia and fortify his position in Silesia.

The long hesitation of Frederick William was due to his uneasiness at the popular movement incited by his ministers. He regarded the people as valuable for saving his crown, but had no idea of rewarding their service by the grant of public liberty. But he could no longer hold back. He launched the "appeal to my people," together with an edict full of warlike fury concerning the landwehr and the landsturm. "The combat to which thou art called justifies all the means! The most terrible are the best! Not only shalt thou harass the enemy, but thou shalt destroy his soldiers whether singly or in troops. Thou shalt slay marauders. . . ." At the same time the lecture-rooms of the universities and the churches rang with calls to arms. The generals and the ministers in their proclamations were lavish of promises of liberty. The war of the nations had begun.

After the passage of the Beresina, Napoleon, who had hastened to Paris, raised another army. But his allies with the exception of Denmark had turned against him. Sweden, led by a former French general, Bernadotte, had set the example of defection. Austria was waiting for a favorable opportunity to unite her arms with those of the Russians, victors without a battle. The whole of Germany, under-

mined by secret societies, held itself ready to pass over even on the battlefield itself to the ranks of the enemy. The brilliant victories of Lützen, Bautzen and Wurschen, won by Napoleon with conscripts in the campaign of 1813, arrested for a time the action of Austria. But that power at last forgot the ties which she had formed and the emperor Francis soon marched to aid in dethroning his daughter and grandson.

Three hundred thousand men assembled at Leipzig against Napoleon's 170,000 soldiers. After a gigantic struggle of three days' duration, aided by the treachery of the Saxons who in the middle of the action deserted to their side, they forced Napoleon to abandon the field of battle, for the first time vanquished. He was obliged to retreat as far as the Rhine.

In the following year began that memorable campaign in France where the military genius of the emperor worked miracles. But while he was heroically struggling with a few thousand brave men against combined Europe the royalists raised their heads and the liberals made untimely opposition to his measures. At that critical moment a dictatorship was needed to spare France foreign invasion, that greatest shame which a nation can undergo, but men talked only of political rights and of liberty! To many the enemy seemed a liberator. In vain did Napoleon conquer at Campaubert, at Montmirail and at Monttereau. The allies continued to advance, favored by the desertions which broke out in all directions, especially in the south, by which road came Wellington and the English whom Marshal Soult brought to a temporary halt at the battle of Toulouse.

A bold attack on the hostile rear guard might perhaps have saved France. If Paris could but stand firm for a few days, the allies, cut off from their communications, would have been ruined. But Paris, defended only for twelve hours, capitulated (March 30), and the Senate proclaimed the deposition of the emperor. He himself signed his abdication at Fontainebleau (April 11).





The First Restoration. The Hundred Days. Waterloo (1814-1815).—The French princes of the house of Bourbon had fought in the enemy's ranks. The Tsar, the king of Prussia and the emperor of Austria, finding themselves embarrassed as to the choice of government, were persuaded by Talleyrand and the royalists to recognize Louis XVIII

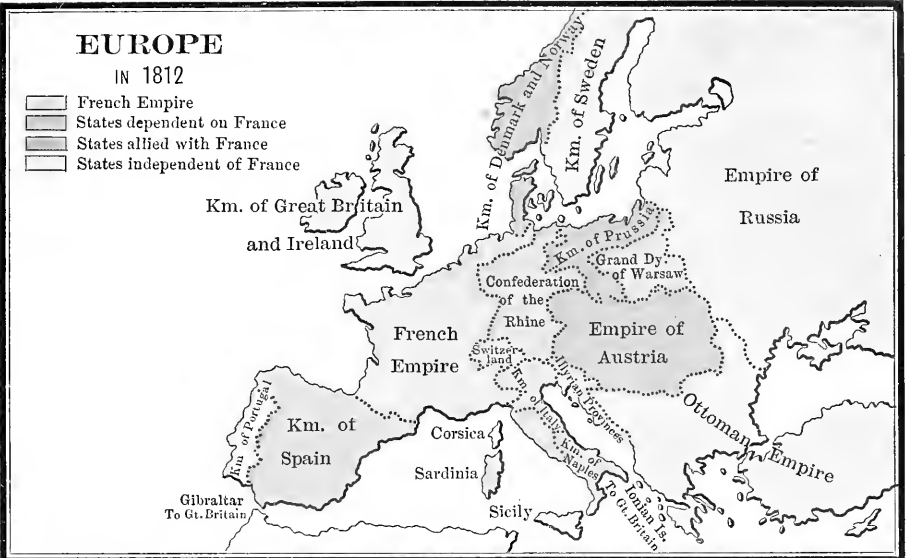
who dated his reign from the death of his nephew, the son of Louis XVI. The white flag replaced the flag of Austerlitz and France reëntered the boundaries of the days before the Revolution. She surrendered fifty-eight strongholds which her troops still held, 12,000 cannon, thirty vessels, and twelve frigates by the first Treaty of Paris, May 30, 1814. In compensation for so many sacrifices Louis XVIII granted a constitutional charter which created two Chambers wherein national interests were to be discussed. The emigrants, who had returned with the princes, were irritated by these concessions made to new ideas. The greed of some, the superannuated pretensions of others, the excesses of all, excited a discontent whose echo reached the island of Elba whither Napoleon had been banished. He thought that in consequence of the general dissatisfaction he could retrieve his disasters. On March 1, 1815, he landed with 800 men on the coast of Provence. All the troops sent against him passed over to his side. Without firing a shot he reëntered Paris, whence the Bourbons fled for the second time. But the allied princes had not yet dismissed their troops. They were then assembled at the Congress of Vienna, occupied in settling after their own pleasure the affairs of Europe. They again launched 800,000 men against France and placed Napoleon under the ban of the nations.

In the meantime the emperor had tried to rally the liberals to his side by proclaiming the Act, additional to the Constitution of the Empire, which confirmed most of the principles contained in the charter. As soon as he had reëstablished order at home, he hastened to march against Wellington and Blücher. He defeated the Prussians at Ligny (June 16, 1815) and for half a day fought victoriously with 71,000 men against 80,000 English, Belgians and Hanoverians. Wellington was near retreat, when the Prussians, who had escaped through a fatal combination of circumstances from Marshal Grouchy, fell upon the exhausted French (June 18). The catastrophe of Waterloo was a death-blow to the empire. Napoleon again abdicated in favor of his son, Napoleon II (June 22). Paris for the second time beheld foreigners enter her walls, pillage her museums and strip her libraries. Napoleon was exiled to Saint Helena in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean. There he died on May 5, 1821, after six years of painful captivity.

EUROPE

IN 1812

-  French Empire
-  States dependent on France
-  States allied with France
-  States independent of France



EUROPE

at the
Congress of Vienna
IN 1815



XXXII

REORGANIZATION OF EUROPE AT THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA. THE HOLY ALLIANCE

Reorganization of Europe at the Congress of Vienna. The Holy Alliance. Congress of Vienna (1815).—The second Treaty of Paris (November 20, 1815) was more disastrous than the first. A war indemnity was imposed of 700,000,000 francs, not reckoning special claims which amounted to 370,000,000. The foreign occupation was to last five years. Rectifications of the frontier deprived France of Chambéry, Annecy, Phillippeville, Marienburg, Sarrelouis, Landau and the duchy of Bouillon, and created in the line of defence the gaps of the Ardennes, the Moselle and Savoy. In Alsace Strasburg was uncovered by the loss of Landau, and the dismantling of Huningue opened a new road for invasion. On the sea Tobago, Santa Lucia, the Île de France and the Seychelles were lost. England, while leaving France her trading posts in India, denied her the right to fortify them. But some still greater disasters were escaped. England, through a wise policy unwilling to shake the throne of the Bourbons, and the Emperor Alexander, on account of his personal sympathy for France, vetoed the plans of Prussia, who was already ambitious of securing Alsace and Lorraine.

The Congress of Vienna to regulate European affairs opened in September, 1814. All the excesses with which Napoleon had been reproached were repeated there. The four sovereigns of Russia, England, Prussia and Austria, who had declared themselves the instruments of Providence against revolutionary France, remodelled the map of Europe as best profited their own ambition. It resembled a market of mankind. The commission, charged with dividing up the human herd among the kings, was greatly troubled by the exigencies of Prussia who demanded 3,300,000 additional subjects as an indemnity. The Congress even discussed the quality of the human merchandise and gravely recognized the fact that a former Frenchman of Aix-la-Chapelle or

Cologne was worth more than a Pole. In order to equalize the lots they reckoned a number of men from the left bank of the Rhine equivalent to a larger number from the right bank of the Oder.

The agreement of the four Powers removed all difficulties at the expense of the weak. In Germany the petty princes, secular or ecclesiastical, and the free cities were shared without scruple as almost worthless booty. But this trade in white men came near rupturing the coalition. Russia and Prussia had come to an understanding that the former should annex the whole of Poland, and the latter in exchange for her Polish provinces the whole of Saxony. "Each must find what suits him," said the Tsar. England, Austria and France united in frustrating this plan by the secret treaty of January 3, 1815. The French ambassador, M. de Talleyrand, succeeded in saving the king of Saxony. At the same time he ruined France by proposing to annex to Prussia in exchange for the Saxon provinces which she specially desired the Rhenish provinces for which she cared less. Later French misfortunes sprang from this substitution.

Russia received the greater part of the grand duchy of Warsaw, together with western Galicia and the circle of Zamosk. Austria gained the Venetian states, Ragusa, the valleys of the Valtelina, Bormio and Chiavenna. Also Saltzburg and the Tyrol were restored to her. Prussia acquired the duchy of Posen, Swedish Pomerania, Westphalia and 700,000 inhabitants in Saxony. England asked nothing on the continent. The electorate of Hanover with increased territory was restored to her royal family. Moreover she might well be content with retaining the acquisitions made in every sea in the struggle against the Revolution and the Empire. She retained Heligoland, opposite the mouth of the Elbe and the Weser; the protectorate of the Ionian Isles at the entrance to the Adriatic; Malta, between Sicily and Africa; Santa Lucia and Tabago in the Antilles; the Seychelles and the Île de France in the Indian Ocean, and finally Ceylon and the Dutch colonies of the Cape of Good Hope.

France, relatively weaker as the power of the four great states increased, still seemed formidable enough to render precautions necessary against her even along her exposed frontiers. The coalition shrewdly established its advance posts. On the north it united Belgium and Holland into

one kingdom under the Prince of Orange. On the north-east was the Rhenish country, the larger part of which was assigned to Prussia, while the remainder was divided between Holland, Hesse-Darmstadt and Bavaria. The latter was formerly the ally but now about to become the enemy of France. Finally on the south the restoration of Savoy to the king of Piedmont placed Lyons, the second capital of France, within two days of the armies of the coalition.

The most difficult problem had been to reconstitute the Confederation of the Rhine, which was directed against France as the Germanic Confederation. Long and violent debates arose on this subject in the Congress, where the petty states made energetic efforts to preserve their independence. The advocates of German union, including Prussia, wished to reestablish the ancient German Empire. Austria dared not resume the ancient crown of the Hapsburgs. The kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg were resolved that the crowns which Napoleon had placed on their heads should not fall. Already, when the extinction of Saxony was discussed, Bavaria had promised M. de Talleyrand 30,000 men if France, joining Austria and England, would drive Prussia into Brandenburg and Russia beyond the Vistula. Würtemberg, Hanover, Baden and Hesse advocated the same project. It was agreed that the empire, destroyed in 1806, should not be set up again.

When the news of Napoleon's return from Elba arrived, "a hut was constructed in all haste to shelter Germany during the storm, a miserable refuge, which the princes themselves destroyed later on." This Confederation, of which a German diplomat spoke with such contempt, was to consist of thirty-nine states, which were to send deputies to Frankfurt to a Diet, over which Austria was always to preside.

This Diet was to be composed of two assemblies. The first or ordinary assembly numbered seventeen votes, that is to say, one vote for each of the great Confederates and one also for each group into which the petty states had been collected. In the general assembly each Confederate had a number of votes proportioned to its importance. The former assembly was to settle current affairs; the latter was to be convoked whenever a question arose concerning fundamental laws or important interests of the federal act. The Confederates were to retain their sovereign independence, their armies and their diplomatic representation. But the

Confederation was also to have its own army and to hold the fortresses which were built with the indemnity paid by France. Thus Luxemburg, Mayence and Landau were to cut off from France the approach to the Rhine, just as Rastadt and Ulm could prevent a French advance to the Black Forest or the valleys of the Danube.

In Switzerland, Geneva and Vaud were enlarged at French expense by a part of the country of Gex and some communes in Savoy. Valais, Geneva and Neuchâtel were added to the nineteen original cantons and formed the Helvetii confederation, which the Congress declared neutral territory. In Italy the king of the Two Sicilies and the Pope recovered what they had lost, but Austria again became all powerful in the peninsula. Mistress of Milan and Venetia, she made sure of the right bank of the Po through the right of placing a garrison in Placentia, Ferrara and Comacchio. She had enthroned an archduke in Tuscany, and had stipulated that the duchies of Parma, Placentia and Guastalla, ceded for life to the ex-Empress Marie Louise, and the duchy of Modena, given to an Austrian prince, should revert to the Austrian crown. Moreover the king of Piedmont, although he had received Genoa and Savoy, was exposed on the Tessin border and seemed at the mercy of his formidable neighbor.

In the north of Europe Sweden, in compensation for Finland which had been taken by Russia, received Norway which was taken from Denmark. Denmark in turn was to have in compensation Swedish Pomerania and Rügen. But Prussia, implacable against the little Danish state which alone had been always faithful to France, forced her to exchange these countries for Lauenburg. This duchy like that of Holstein was only the personal domain of the king, who through his possession of these two German provinces became a member of the Germanic Confederation, that is, of a state organized against France. Denmark experienced later the effect of these artificial combinations.

The Holy Alliance (1815). — The stipulations of the Congress of Vienna (June 9, 1815) constituted the most important act which diplomacy had effected in Europe since the conclusion of the peace of Westphalia. The sovereigns of Russia, Austria and Prussia undertook to give it religious consecration. On September 14, 1816, under the inspiration of the Tsar Alexander, they signed at Paris the Treaty

of the Holy Alliance, wherein they asserted "in the face of the universe their unalterable determination to take as their rule of conduct, both in the administration of their respective states and in their political relations with every other government, only the precepts of the Christian religion, precepts of justice, charity and peace." In consequence they bound themselves, in the first article, to regard each other as "brethren," in the second, "to display to one another an unalterable good-will," considering themselves "delegated by Providence to govern three branches of one and the same family, to wit, Austria, Prussia and Russia," to form but one Christian nation, which should have for its sovereign "Him to Whom alone power belongs as His possession, because in Him are found all the treasures of love, of knowledge and of infinite wisdom." The kings of constitutional countries could not sign the Treaty of the Holy Alliance, but in all lands a party upheld its principles.

Thus was crowned by a mystical and sentimental act the most self-seeking work of politics. These words, "justice and love," present a singular contrast to the real state of things. "Public right," said Hardenberg, "is useless;" to which Alexander added, "You are always talking to me of principles. I do not know what you mean. What, think you, do I care for your parchments and your treaties?" However, it was at the Congress of Vienna that Talleyrand invented the word "legitimacy." That city, where so many jealousies were in conflict and where so little consideration was paid the wishes and the true interests of kings and nations, was a strange cradle for any idea of rights.

In order to satisfy political requirements Belgium had been yoked with Holland much against her will, and Italy had been handed over to Austria. Thus the way was paved for insurrection in the Netherlands and the peninsula. Poland, dismembered, remained a perpetual cause of conflict between the three "brother monarchs." And lastly, by forgetting the liberal promises made to the peoples in order to stir them up against Napoleon, the spirit of revolt was destined soon to shake that edifice so laboriously erected and of which at the present time nothing remains.

The Germanic Confederation seemed fitted, it is true, to assure continental peace by separating the three great military states of Prussia, Austria and France. The temporizing German character seemed interposed between three

countries accustomed to rapid action: between Russia, which utilizes to the utmost ideas of race and religion; England, which obeys the commercial spirit; and France, which is prone to move with sudden and hasty impulse. As the Germany of 1815 was built on perpetual compromises, it represented in European affairs the genius of compromise, which is that of diplomacy. To fully render this service to the peace of the world, of necessity the Confederation should have been organized for defence and not for attack, and should have been independent both of Berlin and Vienna. But the rivalries and antagonisms of the two were to keep the Confederation in constant anxiety and turmoil and to cease only when one should be able to expel the other.

In 1815 the preponderance in Europe seemed for a long time assured to Russia and England, the two powers which had been invulnerable even to the sword of Napoleon.

XXXIII

THE HOLY ALLIANCE. SECRET SOCIETIES AND
REVOLUTIONS

(1815-1824)

Character of the Period between 1815 and 1830.—As the National Assembly of 1789 paid more heed to ideas than to facts,—a course which philosophy always pursues but which politics never does,—it had revived and applied to vast multitudes such principles of political liberty and civil equality as had seldom been realized except in small cities and tribes. Unfortunately society, like an individual, can never carry two ideas to victory at the same time. Equality, inscribed in the Code Napoléon, very quickly passed into the national character, and the French soldiers carried its fruitful germ throughout all Europe. The Terror, civil discords and the ambition of a great man postponed the triumph of civil liberty. None the less the spirit of liberty among many European peoples united with the sentiment of nationality and added strength to the forces which threatened Napoleon. But the victors of Leipzig and Waterloo had no idea of giving it a place in the national law. They combined on the contrary to fetter what they called revolutionary passion, but what was only, if we eliminate its excesses and crimes, a new and legitimate evolution of humanity. The struggle which they engaged against the new spirit forms the principal interest of the drama unrolling between 1815 and 1830.

In this drama, on which side was justice and consequently the right to life and success? This is the question which must be put in front of every great social conflict. Setting aside commonplace accusations of hypocrisy and obstinacy, of fondness for disorder and search for utopias, there always remains the inevitable battle between an old society, which is unwilling to die, and a new society, which persists in making a place for itself in the world and which deserves to have one.

Unfortunately this struggle was envenomed by passions which impelled one party to cruel acts of violence and the other to criminal conspiracies. The golden mean would have been attained by following the example of England in 1689. Thus the spirit of conservatism would have been retained from the past but vivified for the satisfaction of new needs by the spirit of progress, which absolute royalty had formerly favored but which in the nineteenth century could be favored only by liberty. Louis XVIII, whom a long residence in England had enlightened as to the advantages of representative government, might perhaps have managed to effect this miracle in France. He saw plainly that the country was divided into two camps armed against each other, and he understood that a wise and prudent policy alone could unite them. "One must not," he said to his brother, the Count d'Artois, who had become the leader of reaction, "one must not be the king of two peoples. All my efforts are directed to the end of there being but one people." This sagacity did not suit the violent. Its application was rendered impossible by the Holy Alliance through a system of stern repression which excited revolutionary activity throughout all Europe.

Moreover the misfortunes of that period sprang from the fatal idea contained in the word "restoration." To some, taken literally, it seemed a threat, to others a promise. It became both the war-cry of those whom the return of abuses alarmed, and the countersign of the new crusaders who were ready to set out to battle "for God and the king," that is to say for the reëstablishment of ancient privileges. In politics one changes by going forward but restores nothing by going back, for society in modern nations is composed of elements so mobile and variable that the generations follow but do not resemble each other.

Efforts to preserve or reëstablish the Old Régime. Peculiar Situation of France from 1815 to 1819.—The Revolution of 1789, undertaken to secure for the individual the greatest sum of liberty, had on the contrary increased the strength of the government in the countries where it temporarily triumphed, as well as in those which felt only its counter-shock. Twenty-three years of war trained the people to furnish more liberally their tribute of blood and their tribute of money. They paid more and conscription or voluntary service took the place of voluntary enlistment.

Moreover administrative authority, formerly dispersed among many intermediate bodies, had reverted to the prince, and an energetic centralization had restored to his hands all the national forces.

Thus the "paternal" governments were stronger in 1815 than in 1789. They had larger resources to enforce obedience. They found in their path fewer of those traditional obstacles which seem so fragile and which are sometimes so unyielding. Leipzig and Waterloo made them the masters of the world. They insisted upon so organizing their conquest as to restore order. It soon seemed to them that this order could be assured only on condition of arresting all movement, that is to say, of stifling the new life which was for them, according to the expression of Frederick William IV, only the "contagion of impiety." Victorious over the Revolution by virtue of arms, they wished to be victorious also by virtue of institutions and by inflexible severity. Some clever persons even believed that popular passions rendered useful service to the absolute cause, and in certain places persecution of the liberals was inaugurated by throwing the populace on their scent.

At Palermo and Madrid the Constitutions of 1812 were abolished and absolute power was restored. At Milan the Austrian Code replaced the French Code and cannon, trained with lighted fuses on the public square, indicated what system of government was being reestablished. The States of the Church and Piedmont returned to the same situation as in 1790. The institutions of Joseph II in Austria, of Leopold I in Tuscany and of Tanucci at Naples were condemned as mischievous. In order to prevent the return of "those reforms, more abusive than the abuses themselves," a secret article of the treaty, signed at Vienna on June 12, 1815, by Frederick IV, stated, "It is understood that the king of the Two Sicilies, in reestablishing the government of the kingdom, will tolerate no changes which cannot be reconciled with the principles adopted by his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty for the internal management of his Italian possessions." Then too, south of the Alps and of the Pyrenees, the privileges of the clergy and nobility were revived and the Inquisition flourished once more, while the friends of public liberty set out on the road to exile, to prison and even the scaffold.

In Germany the princes forgot their promises of 1813,

except in Bavaria and a few petty states belonging to the ancient Confederation of the Rhine. As for Austria and Prussia, it seemed as if nothing had taken place in the world during a quarter of a century. In both the patriarchal system was maintained, defended by 300,000 soldiers on the Danube and 200,000 on the Spree, and also by the immense army of functionaries. Even a Prussian league of nobles was formed to maintain the distinction of classes and feudal immunities. The Tories continued to govern England in the interest of the aristocracy. The royalists of France would have gladly reorganized everything in the same way for the advantage of the great proprietors and of the clergy. In the Chamber of Deputies under the leadership of La Bourdonnaye, Marcellus and Villèle, men talked openly of returning to the old régime even by a bloody path. The emigrants of Coblenz and the fugitives of Ghent were determined to have their revenge for their two exiles. In the official world they obtained it by means of laws and decisions which were often dictated by passion, and among the masses, by means of murders which the authorities dared not or could not prevent or punish. A royal ordinance proscribed fifty-seven persons. Marshal Ney and several generals were condemned to death and shot. Marshal Brune and Generals Ramel and Lagarde were assassinated. The provosts' courts, from which there was no appeal and the sentences of which were executed within twenty-four hours, deserved their sinister reputation. The restored monarchy had its prison massacres, its terror, which was called the White Terror, its executioners and its purveyors of victims who rivalled those of the Convention.

In Spain and in Italy there were the same excesses. Ferdinand VII at Madrid imprisoned, exiled and condemned to death jealous partisans of the Constitution of 1812. At Naples the Calderari, or coppersmiths, who had been pitted against the Carbonari, pillaged and assassinated on behalf of the Minister of Police, the Prince di Canosa, whose deeds of violence went so far that the allied kings, fearing serious troubles, demanded his removal.

Louis XVIII was also disturbed by the excessive zeal of his dangerous friends, more royalist than the king himself. By the ordinance of September 6, 1816, which the extremists called a coup d'état, he dismissed the ultra-royalist Chamber. This measure was in accordance with public

sentiment, for France was by no means exclusively composed of reactionaries. In spite of her misfortunes she showed remarkable vitality. Furthermore the ideas of 1789, grafted in part on the civil code, had maintained a liberal spirit in the country in advance of the rest of Europe. In the Charter granted by Louis XVIII the idea of national sovereignty was greatly obscured by vestiges of the theory of divine rights. But offices were no longer sold, or lettres de cachet issued, or secret procedure indulged in. Justice did not depend upon the ruling power. The treasury belonged to the nation. The laws were discussed by representatives of the country instead of being made by the sovereign. The publicity of debate furnished a powerful guarantee for the impartiality of the judge and the wisdom of the legislator, over whose actions and votes public opinion kept watch. Thanks to the wisdom of the sovereign, the era of representative government really began for France at the time when it was disappearing in Spain and Italy and when the German princes were evading the execution of article thirteen of the Federal Compact which promised it to their peoples. Thus, although 150,000 foreigners still occupied the French provinces, all eyes remained fixed upon this country, where the new era had first dawned and where it seemed on the point of reviving.

Alliance of the Altar and the Throne. The Congregation.
— But this return to the wise ideas of the first National Assembly did not suit the calculations of the clergy, the nobility, the adherents of right divine and the privileged classes of all sorts, who, for the sake of combating a social order contrary to their habits of mind and existence, employed every weapon. Religion was the special weapon which seemed bound to be most efficacious.

The considerations of the princes were mainly temporal. Although they had concluded a holy alliance, religion was in their eyes only the tool of politics. But the papacy, which had also just recovered its territorial power, took alarm at the state of men's minds. Philosophy, the sciences and liberty of thought seemed to it far more to be dreaded than Luther and Calvin. It wished on behalf of the Church to take part in the campaign upon which the kings had entered for the sake of maintaining royal power. The Roman curia became the resolute, implacable adversary of that modern spirit which is destined to triumph, since it is

only the necessary and divine development of human reason and conscience. With each generation Rome enlarged her claims, the final word of which has been uttered in our own day in the Syllabus and in papal infallibility.

Those who in the sixteenth century had been her ablest auxiliaries against the Reformation offered her their consistent aid. The Jesuits, whose order, half a century before Pope Clement XIV had declared abolished, had just been reestablished by Pius VII (1814). From Rome they rapidly spread over the Catholic world, especially through France where, although not yet legally recognized, they were always more numerous than elsewhere. They displayed against the new enemy the same skill which they had manifested after the Council of Trent. Their deservedly famous missions brought about many conversions. But the Jesuits then inspired zealous Roman Catholics and most of the clergy with such distrust as prevented their being intrusted with the education of the young. The superintendence of the higher schools in France was committed to the bishops. This they had already secured in the other Catholic countries. After the fall of the Directory a reaction had sprung up in France against the irreligious spirit of the eighteenth century. This reaction spread through all European countries, Chateaubriand with his *Genius of Christianity* being its most brilliant exponent. At his side stood a logician, De Bonald, with his *Primitive Legislation*, and De Maistre, "a savage Bossuet," a man of passionate eloquence and of uncompromising disposition. These two, full of mediæval theories, dreamed of such a triumph for the ideas of Gregory VII as that tireless old man had never been able to secure himself. Because Chateaubriand, De Bonald and De Maistre were not priests, but laymen, they drew the more attention. An audacious priest, Lamennais, wrote the *Essay on Indifference* and aimed at governing the world by papal infallibility. A society was formed to put in practice the ideas of Count de Maistre and to subject Italy at least to that theocratic government of which the Pope was to be the head.

In the sixteenth century in one-half of Europe the interests of the princes and of Rome were opposed. Religious parties were even at times revolutionary parties. Thus the League desired the commune, the Protestant gentlemen of France aimed at ridding themselves of royalty, and the Anabaptists declared war on society as a whole. After 1815

politics and religion were everywhere in accord, even in Protestant monarchies, where the civil authorities sought alliance with the religious spirit. Poets, as in the early *Odes* of Victor Hugo and the *Méditations* of Lamartine, sang the majesty of worship and the sweetness of pious sentiments. Philosophers erected theocracy into a system. Politicians wished to restore to the clergy its landed possessions, together with its civil power. Writers of all sorts furbished up a fantastic revival of the Middle Ages, peopled with brilliant cavaliers and fair and high-born ladies, with mighty kings and well-obeyed priests who together governed virtuous and disciplined populations. Society, which was profoundly moved by these various influences, especially in its upper classes, readily lent itself to the organization, "for the defence of the altar and the throne," of a secret body, the Congregation. This association numbered in France as many as 50,000 members, lay and ecclesiastical. Finally, in the last years of the Restoration, it controlled the government and the king and ended by overthrowing both.

The focus of this religious expansion was the very country where philosophy had reigned supreme. The phenomenon however was universal. In all churches fervor had redoubled. The Methodists in England and the United States, the Moravian Brethren, the Pietists in Germany and Switzerland, reawoke the iconoclastic zeal of the sixteenth century. Bible Societies found themselves possessed of sufficient funds to distribute gratuitously between 1803 and 1843, 12,000,000 Bibles. Madame Krüdener won over to her mystical ideas the Tsar Alexander, who expelled the Jesuits, but declared himself the protector of an association formed for the purpose of diffusing the New Testament among all the peoples of his empire. The Russian Princess Galitzin returned to the communion of Rome and her son became a missionary to the Indies. A Dane of almost royal blood, the Count von Stolberg, who had abjured Protestantism, wrote (1806-1818) a history of the Roman Church, so favorable to the Holy See, that the Roman propaganda made haste to translate and publish it in Italian. In Switzerland a grandson of the great Haller declared himself a Catholic and became the disciple of De Bonald. The most ancient university of England was agitated by the "Oxford Movement."

One special attempt was made, not destitute of grandeur, if grandeur can attach in human affairs to undertakings condemned in advance to failure by their very nature. The protectorate over Protestant interests in Germany had belonged at first to the house of Saxony, the cradle of the Reformation, but that dynasty had lost this distinction on becoming Catholic for the sake of obtaining the Polish crown. This protectorate was claimed by the Electors of Brandenburg and was exercised by the sceptic Frederick II himself. After 1815, Frederick William II from religious zeal and dynastic self-interest tried to discipline the churches born of the Reformation, so as to oppose Protestant unity to Catholic unity, Berlin to Rome, the king of Prussia to the pontiff of the Vatican. He aimed at welding together the members of all the Protestant confessions, including those of England, into one evangelical church. He built them a temple and drew up a liturgy for the new cult. On October 18, 1817, the three hundredth anniversary of the foundation of Protestantism, he caused to be celebrated a Holy Communion, in which a Lutheran minister gave him the bread and a Calvinist minister the wine of the Sacrament. "They are uniting in a void!" exclaimed Gans; and he was right, for such union was a denial even of the Reformation, whose fundamental principle is liberty of individual examination. Therefore the scheme of Frederick William failed, but its political usefulness was too great to be abandoned.

So, in spite of the charters accorded and the constitutions granted or promised and in spite also of the good intentions of certain princes to effect reforms, the ancient system, aided by the powerful organization of the Catholic Church and by the revival of religious sentiment, tried to hold its own or to renew itself in order to restore what the Revolution had destroyed. It wished to restore domination over human will and conscience with that preëminence of the powerful and that dependence of the lowly which seemed to some to have maintained tranquil and prosperous periods. But this reaction was often in contradiction with itself.

Liberalism in the Press and Secret Societies. — Confronting the powerful party which was dominated by the memory of past glories and recent misfortunes and which wished to protect society from storm by placing it under the double

guardianship of monarchical faith and religious faith, there were enormous numbers who ardently cherished the memory of the ideas for which the revolution and the national insurrections of the later days of the empire had been made. There were in Belgium, Italy and Poland, patriots who would not accept the sway of the foreigner. There were everywhere the mixed multitudes, former freemasons or republicans, liberals or Bonapartists, who through self-interest, sentiment, or theory clung to the institutions of 1789 or 1804 and believed them necessary to good social order. In their ranks were men of heart and talent who openly advocated the new ideas in legislative chambers where such existed; in the courts, when a political case was on trial; in newspapers and books, and even in songs, wherever the censorship allowed them to appear. Such heroes in France were Benjamin Constant, Foy, Manuel, Étienne, Lafitte, the elder Dupin, Casimir-Périer, Paul Louis Courier, Béranger, Augustin Thierry, Cousin and a thousand others. In Germany there were the great patriots of 1813, such as Arndt, Görres, Jahn, whom the Prussian police soon forbade to speak or to write. In Italy there were Manzoni, who in his *Sacred Hymns* endeavored to reconcile religion and liberty, Berchet with his patriotic *Odes*, Leopardi with his fiery *Canzones* and the gentle Silvio Pellico with his tragedy of *Eufemio di Messina*, wherein Austria discerned a war-cry against the foreigner.

These men, the orators and writers, were the friends of free discussion and of that pacific progress which alone is effective. But others, fanatics of a new creed, moved restlessly in the dark and organized secret societies wherein the impatient dreamed of insurrection and the criminal of assassination. They existed in all forms and under every sort of name, as the Knights of the Sun, the Associates of the Black Pin, the Patriots of 1816, the Vultures of Bonaparte. Some already possessed an international character which, fifty years later, was destined to manifest other passions and above all other appetites. The "Reformed European Patriots" and the "Friends of Universal Regeneration" proposed to unite the nations against their kings, just as their successors to-day wish without distinction of country to unite the poor against the rich, the workmen against their employers, for the purpose of bringing about a revolution, not indeed in creeds or institutions, but in social order. The

most famous was an old Guelph organization, which owed its name to the fact that its members, the Carbonari, met in the depths of the forests in the huts of the charcoal-burners. It covered Italy, France and Spain, the lands of the Latin tongue. Greece had her "Hetairias" and Poland the "Knights of the Temple" and the "Mowers," when the severity of Alexander impelled the patriots to employ secret societies, the grand engine of the times. Even the victors used the same weapon. They had the Sanfedists in Italy, the Army of the Faith in Spain, the Adelskette in Prussia, the Ferdinandians in Austria, and the Congregation everywhere.

Two societies peculiar to Germany, the Arminia and the Burschenschaft, or Union of Comrades, had succeeded to the Tugendbund, which was dissolved as early as 1815 by those whom it had so powerfully helped recover or save their crowns. These societies, now that the German land was freed from the foreigner, aimed at causing the disappearance of internal divisions and of the absolute or pseudo-liberal government of its princes. In October, 1817, on the very day when the king of Prussia at Berlin was trying to master the Reformation in order to make of it a great instrument, an instrumentum regni, an immense throng was joyfully celebrating at the Wartburg the third centennial of Protestantism and the anniversary of the battle of Leipzig. Now that religious liberty had been achieved and national independence assured, it demanded the advent of political liberty. It raised the colors of united Germany. It burned in its bonfires of rejoicing those works which opposed philosophical and liberal ideas, as Luther had burned the papal bulls. "In the sixteenth century," they said, "the Pope was Antichrist; in the nineteenth the despotism of the kings is Antichrist." To this manifestation the princes replied by the suppression of many universities. In the Prussian states alone four universities were closed and "instead of a constitution, Prussia had a countersign."

Plots (1816-1822). Assassinations (1819-1820). Revolutions (1820-1821).—Repression produced its customary fruits. Compressed force exploded. This is a law of physics which also exhibits itself in the realms of morals. There is this difference, that when repression acts upon ideas which are in consonance with material needs, it distorts them and renders them all the more formidable. Thus the students

were uttering generous sentiments in the open air and in the beer halls. Such public declamation was forbidden. Then they conspired in profound secrecy, and one of them took upon himself the office of assassin. In 1819 Sand stabbed, with the cry, "Vivat Teutonia," a writer who was in the pay of the Holy Alliance. Another tried to kill the president of the regency of Nassau. A few months later, "in order to drain the blood of the Bourbons at its very source," a crazy fanatic, Louvel, knifed the Duke de Berri, who then seemed to be the last heir of the elder branch. Even in London, Thistlewood plotted the murder of fourteen ministers at a dinner given by Lord Harrowby, president of the council.

In all the states of the Holy Alliance conspiracy was the permanent state of affairs, so too in France, Spain, Naples, Turin, the Germanic Confederation and even in Sweden. From time to time a riot broke out in the barracks or a wine-shop or a university and several heads fell on the scaffold. The governments felt the ground quake beneath them as at the approach of great eruptions. Two countries however, from directly opposite reasons, escaped these subterranean convulsions. Russia repressed them by her ponderous mass, in whose vastness nothing seemed as yet to be in progress of fermentation. The Tsar was then even lavish of promises and liberal reforms in his German or Polish provinces. England had forestalled danger by allowing free expression to all ideas. Thanks to the right of assembly, English discontent had no need to form secret societies and conspiracies. Thistlewood's plot is exceptional. But meetings were held of 100,000 persons who carried flags whereon were to be read such menacing mottoes as "The Rights of Man," "Universal Suffrage," "Equality." Those tumultuous assemblies occasioned bloody conflicts which compelled the suspension of the law of habeas corpus (1817).

When in 1814 the Spaniards restored to Ferdinand VII the crown, "conquered for him and without him," the deputies of the Cortes went as far as the frontier to meet him, in order to present him with the Constitution of 1812. "Do not forget," they said with the pride of the ancient Aragonese, "that on the day when you violate it, the solemn compact which has made you king will be torn up." A few weeks later Ferdinand tore up this Constitution and urged on the reaction with such cruelty that even the members of the Holy Alliance remonstrated with him on the subject.

These remonstrances were useless (1817). So plots multiplied with executions, and the isolated cases of recourse to arms were followed by an insurrection of the entire army. Riego at Cadiz and Mina in the Pyrenees proclaimed the Constitution of 1812. Ferdinand, abandoned by everybody, swore fidelity to this Constitution, "since such was the will of the people." On the same day he banished the Jesuits, his counsellors. He abolished the Inquisition, whose property was confiscated to extinguish the public debt, and restored the liberty of the press. Thus the two opposite principles, which were contending for the world, met again in what had just fallen and in what had just been raised up in Spain.

The Spanish revolution had its counterpart at Lisbon, in Sicily, and in the Neapolitan kingdom (July) at Benevento and at Ponte Corvo, in the States of the Church and in Piedmont, whose king abdicated (March, 1821). Many persons were already thinking of constituting an Italian confederation such as Napoleon III afterwards desired, or a kingdom of Italy such as events have made. A parallel movement even spread into Turkey, where the Roumanians and Greeks flew to arms (March and April, 1821). The whole south of Europe was returning to liberal ideas. In the rest of the continent the ferment was increasing. On the other side of the Atlantic the Spanish colonies were making themselves independent republics, as the English colonies had done forty years earlier.

Moral contagions are as active as physical contagions. A breath of liberty was blowing over the world. It agitated even venerable England under her Tory ministry and aroused Poland where the Tsar proceeded from kindness to severity. Alexander established a censorship over everything published in the kingdom (1819). He closed the Diet of 1820 with harsh words and was soon to declare that the Polish nation no longer existed. To these threats Poland immediately replied by secret societies and every preparation was made for a grand insurrection.

The Holy Alliance acts as the Police of Europe. Expedition of Italy (1821) and of Spain (1823).—Thus it appeared that the Holy Alliance was doomed to be vanquished by the mere movement of life in the bosom of the nations. Five years had barely passed over the political edifice so laboriously erected in 1815 and already it was tottering

to its fall. To prevent its entire ruin, the congresses of sovereigns multiplied, and Prince Metternich, a man of great skill, assumed the guidance of it. He was the real ruler of Austria. To that state, formed of so many fragments patched together, any shock was dangerous. Therefore Metternich made the status quo the rule of his policy everywhere and in everything. He contrived to instil into the unstable mind of the Tsar Alexander the idea that, after having defended civilization against despotism, he ought to save it from anarchy even though to attain success he should set in motion all the armies of the coalition. It must be confessed that the activity of secret societies and the permanence of conspiracies and assassinations, which disgraced the liberal cause, afforded only too many pretexts for court-martials. Men did not yet comprehend that the best way to make an end of the violent is to satisfy the moderate. So they employed the sword, which decided nothing, instead of introducing reforms, fitted to conciliate the hostile parties.

Prussia followed in the wake of Austria and Russia. Thus it was easy for Prince Metternich, after winning over the Tsar to his views, to establish harmony between the three Powers. At the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (November, 1818) they renewed the alliance of 1815 and bound themselves by conferences, either of these sovereigns or their ministers, to examine questions relative to the maintenance of peace or upon which other governments should formally request their intervention. This idea was more precisely stated later on in the declaration of the Congress of Laibach (February, 1821). "Useful or necessary changes in the legislation and administration of the states are to emanate only from the free will, the enlightened and deliberate impulse, of those whom God has rendered depositaries of power." This was a fresh affirmation of the divine right of kings, with the interpretation that the prince upon whom his people wished to impose that contract called a constitution could summon to his aid his royal colleagues.

The majority of the French royalists were ready to follow this policy, which was that of Pilnitz and the emigrants. This time Great Britain held herself apart. So long as it had been a question of destroying French commerce and French military domination, she had lavished her guineas freely. But she was beginning to be alarmed at the claim,

put forth by the continental Powers, to act as the police of Europe in the name of ideas which at bottom only represented interests which might some day or other become inimical to the interests of England. Castlereagh, who seemed to have inherited Pitt's feelings toward France, was obliged to declare in the British Parliament that no power has the right to interfere in the affairs of another power, simply because the latter makes changes in its government which do not please the former; and that by erecting one's self into a tribunal to judge the affairs of others, one usurps a power which both international law and common sense condemns. In the country, which owed its greatness and its liberty to the national insurrection of 1688, the friend of Wellington, the leader of the Tories, admitted, while deprecating the revolutionary spirit, "that there are revolutions which are just and necessary."

Thus the two policies, which wrestled all through the nineteenth century, publicly stated their principles. The one policy rejected and the other approved armed intervention. In 1820 England alone upheld the former. As she was alone, she was unable to make it prevail. The Holy Alliance adopted the second, which was nothing more than the continuation of the policy pursued by the European Cabinets ever since 1791.

The Congress of Carlsbad in Bohemia, after the assassination of Kotzebue (1819), was composed only of German ministers. It was decided to place the universities and the press under rigorous surveillance. A commission of inquiry was set up at Mayence, charged with searching out and punishing the enemies of established order. A new congress, which sat for six months in the capital of Austria, studied the means of stifling liberalism. One of these means was to ask from the Pope a bull against secret societies. The final act of the Congress of Vienna (1820) retracted nearly all the concessions which had been made in 1815 in the joy of victory. "As the Germanic Confederation," said Article 57, "has been formed by the sovereigns, the principle of this union requires that all prerogatives of sovereignty shall remain united in the supreme head of the government, and that he shall not be bound to admit the coöperation of the assemblies, except for the exercise of proscribed rights." The Diet of Frankfort was declared to be the sole interpreter of Article 13 of the convention which

promised constitutions. It was empowered to employ the confederated troops against all disturbers of public tranquillity, even without the consent of the local governments. The police of the Holy Alliance persecuted the patriots of 1815 as Napoleon had persecuted those of 1807. Newspapers and reviews were suppressed. The philosopher Fries and the naturalist Oken were dismissed. Other professors and students were exiled. Görres was expelled from Prussia; Jahn, Arndt and Welker were imprisoned.

In France liberal ideas, till then encouraged in a certain degree by Louis XVIII, were held responsible for the assassination of the Duke de Berri by Louvel. The king, swept on by the reaction, was forced to form a new ministry, which caused the government to enter upon the fatal path wherein the throne was wrecked in 1830. Individual liberty was suspended, the censorship of the press restored, and the double vote was introduced so that political influence might pass into the hands of the great landed proprietors, who voted twice, that is, in the college of the department and in the college of the district. The birth of the Duke de Bordeaux (September 29, 1820), the posthumous son of the Duke de Berri; the elections of November, 1820, in which only a few liberals were chosen to the Chamber; and the death of Napoleon (May 5, 1821), increased the joy and the hopes of the ultra-royalists. Men spoke openly of restoring their ancient prerogatives to the monarchy and the Church. Béranger was condemned to prison for his songs. The University received a stern warning that it was under suspicion when the lectures of Cousin and Guizot were suppressed. Lastly, in order to intimidate the press, journals were placed on trial, not for any definite act of transgression, but on the charge that their tendency was injurious.

These measures tended to reestablish a superficial calm in the countries which had been the principal theatres of militant liberalism. The Congresses of Troppeau (1820), Laibach (1821) and Verona (1822) aimed at stifling liberalism in the two peninsulas where it had just triumphed. They refused to discriminate between legitimate complaints and inopportune demands. The revolutions in Greece, Spain, Naples and Turin were represented in a circular note "as being the same in origin and deserving the same fate." If no measures were taken against the Greeks, it

was because Russia was interested in that revolt of her co-religionists whereby she obtained allies at the very heart of the Ottoman Empire. In Italy Austria undertook to destroy "the false doctrines and the criminal associations which have brought down upon rebellious nations the sword of justice." A numerous army, to be followed at need by 100,000 Russians, set out from Venetian Lombardy. At Rieti and Novara the recruits of Pepe and of Santa Rosa could not stand against the veterans of the Napoleonic wars, and the Austrians entered Naples, Turin and Messina. Behind them the prisons were filled and scaffolds erected. Austria lent her prisons as well as her soldiers. The dungeons of Venice, Laibach and the Spielberg were crowded with victims, but there was a still larger number in the native prisons. There were 16,000 at one time in the cells of the Two Sicilies. In Piedmont all the leaders who had been captured were beheaded. Those who escaped were executed in effigy. No insurrection had really broken out in the States of the Church, but four hundred persons were incarcerated there. Many of them were condemned to the death penalty which the Pope commuted into perpetual or temporary confinement. The Piedmontese Silvio Pellico, imprisoned at first at Venice and then in the Spielberg, has narrated with a martyr's calmness what tortures this pitiless policy added to his captivity.

After the executions administrative measures and a clever police maintained external order. The king of Sardinia reëstablished forced labor (1824) and permitted no persons to learn to read unless they possessed property to the value of 1500 francs (1825). To demonstrate his zeal for the Church he ordered a fresh and equally useless persecution against the peaceable Waldenses. The Pope re-established episcopal jurisdiction in civil affairs, restored the right of asylum to churches, and from hatred of all novelties suppressed even the Vaccination Commission as a revolutionary institution. When Leo XII succeeded Pius VII (1823), a violent encyclical condemned civil marriage, and excited the kings to intolerance. Rome set the example. The Inquisition opened a new prison, which was immediately filled with heretics (1825). The king of Naples, Francis I, almost absolutely interdicted the entrance of foreign books, so as to establish a sort of sanitary cordon around his kingdom, and cause his peoples to recover

in their isolation their holy ignorance. Then he hired ten thousand Swiss mercenaries to assure the collection of the taxes and the obedience of his subjects, the two chief anxieties of his government. Wherever there was material welfare, a formidable spy system wormed its way into the midst of social relations and even into the privacy of the domestic hearth.

The spirit of the century desired three things. These were free institutions, equality before the law, and national independence. To the first two demands the Holy Alliance replied by reverting to the principles of pure monarchy and of the feudal system. To the third the answer was the disdainful remark of Metternich, "Italy is only a geographical expression," or that of the Tsar Alexander, "The Polish nationality is nonsense."

In 1823 this policy seemed successful. There were fewer conspiracies and no more assassinations. The insurrections were crushed at one of the points where, because there the people and the army had entered into them, they had been most threatening. With her docile lieutenants seated on the different thrones of Italy, with her army of occupation at all the strategical points, with her numerous spies and the assistance of the Holy Father, Austria did in fact believe that she had effected the durable work of restoration. To her allies she pointed with pride at that peninsula formerly so distracted where, from the base of the Alps to the Straits of Messina, she had brought about the silence of death. Then the Holy Alliance thought of undertaking the same task beyond the Pyrenees. There all passions had been let loose. Reactionaries, crucifix in hand, were murdering their enemies, and, meanwhile, the rabble were cutting throats to the revolutionary song of the *Tragala*.

To lull the suspicions which France had for a moment inspired by her hesitation at Austrian intervention in Italy, the government of Louis XVIII asked permission to stifle the disorders in Spain. Chateaubriand, who was then minister, believed that this expedition would confer upon the young fleurs de lis of the Restoration the splendor with which fifty victories had crowned the imperial eagles. England, where the irritation was increasing at the claims of the Holy Alliance to govern Europe, held aloof. Wellington, her ambassador at Verona, would allow France nothing more than an army of observation along the Span-

ish frontier. Canning, who, since the suicide of Castlereagh, had become the British prime minister, threatened in open Parliament to recognize the independence of the Spanish American colonies as retaliation for the French expedition.

The army, commanded by the Duke of Angoulême, entered Spain on April 7, 1823. It had little opportunity for fighting and encountered no serious resistance except at the siege of Cadiz. On August 31 the French troops took possession after a brilliant assault of the stronghold of the Trocadero, and this success brought about the surrender of the city. Although fighting for the despot Ferdinand, the French army carried its liberal spirit to Spain. The Duke of Angoulême, by the ordinance of Andujar, sought to forestall the fury of a royalist reaction and to prevent arbitrary arrests and executions. But Ferdinand had no intention of permitting his saviors to impose conditions. The military commissions were implacable. Riego, grievously wounded, was carried to the gibbet on a hurdle drawn by an ass. A counter revolution took place at Lisbon as well as Madrid. The king declared the constitution abolished and for a few months reestablished absolute power.

Despite the congratulations sent by the princes and the Pope to the honest but commonplace prince who had just conducted this easy campaign, the elder branch of the Bourbons had won in it little military glory. Most apparent in this expedition was the fact that French soldiers had been placed at the service of a knavish and cruel prince and French finances depleted by an expenditure of 200,000,000 francs. Still, petty as was this success, it encouraged the French ministry in their reactionary projects. The elections increased this confidence, only nineteen Liberals obtaining seats in the Chamber.

Charles X (1824). — The death of Louis XVIII, a prudent and moderate king, seemed to assure the triumph of the ultra-royalists, by transferring the power to the Count d'Artois (September 16, 1824). He was one of those people who gain nothing from experience. In 1789 this prince had been among the first to emigrate. While learning nothing, he had forgotten nothing. Louis XVIII on his death-bed, placing his hand on the head of the Duke de Bordeaux, said to him, "Let Charles X look out for this child's crown," but he had paid no heed. He felt himself

called upon to revive the ancient monarchy. "In France," he said, "the king consults the Chambers. He pays great heed to their advice and their remonstrances; but, when the king is not persuaded, his will must be done." These words were a denial of the Charter and an intimation of its speedy violation. At the very beginning of his reign he asked from the Chambers an indemnity of \$200,000,000 for the emigrants, the reëstablishment of convents for women, the restoration of the rights of primogeniture, a rigorous law against the press and another concerning offences committed in churches. The latter was called the law of sacrilege. The new Chamber of extremists accorded everything. There was no resistance, except in the Chamber of Peers, which by its opposition won a few days of popularity.

In May, 1825, the new monarch revived the solemnity of coronation with all traditional ceremony, with the ancient oath and with touching for the king's evil. A popular manifestation was the response to this royal and religious festival. General Foy, a leader of the liberal party, had just died. One hundred thousand persons followed his bier, and a national subscription provided for the future of his children.

XXXIV

PROGRESS OF LIBERAL IDEAS

The Romantic School. The Sciences. — Nevertheless liberal opinions were gaining ground every day and opposition to the spirit of the Congregation was increasing. Voltaire seemed alive again, there were so many editions of his works. Béranger was in every hand, and the people wanted to see *Tartuffe* played in every theatre. In letters and arts a great movement was to be noted. This movement was in the direction of liberty, for it ran counter to discipline and traditions. The almost volcanic eruption of the romantic school (1825-1830) overwhelmed worn-out formulas and emitted dazzling light, despite its scoria and ashes. Goethe and Schiller, Shakespeare and Byron, had been the forerunners of the new men of letters. They had even been precursors of those artists who, in their search for fresh expressions of the beautiful, gave the human mind a salutary shock and aided the work of statesmen in advancing society. Thierry, Guizot, De Barante, Mignet and Michelet reformed history. Cousin and Jouffroy reformed philosophy. Hugo, Lamartine, De Vigny, Dumas, Musset and Balzac reformed poetry, the drama and romance. Villemain and Sainte-Beuve reformed literary criticism. Géricault, Delacroix, Ary Scheffer and Delaroche reformed painting. David d'Angers and Rude reformed sculpture. The overthrow of the ancient classical system rendered still more difficult the victory of the ancient social system.

Learned letters also enlarged their horizon. Champollion forced the Egyptian Sphinx to speak. De Sacy and De Remusat lifted some of the veils which hid the Orient. Guigiaut began the publication of Creuzer's *Symbologism and Mythology*, and made the religions of antiquity comprehensible. All this meant new ideas put into general circulation.

The sciences continued their serene and majestic march, and added great names to the list of honor. There were

Poisson, Ampère, Fresnel, Cauchy, Chasles, Arago, Biot and Dulong in mathematics and physics; Gay-Lussac, Thénard, Chevreul and Dumas in chemistry; Cuvier, Geoffroy, Saint Hilaire, Brongniart, De Jussieu, and Élie de Beaumont in the natural sciences. By the successful efforts of so many superior men, natural philosophy mastered truths whose application to manufactures by creating new interests aided also to transform society. The lighthouses of Fresnel began to illuminate the coasts and guided vessels thirty-five miles out at sea (1822). The steamboats of the Marquis de Jouffroy, kindred spirit with Watt and Fulton, appeared on the French rivers and in their ports (1825). The company of Saint Étienne laid the first French railway (1827). Two years later Séguin d'Annonay constructed the tubular locomotive. The discoveries of Oersted (1820) and of Ampère and Arago (1822) indicated the electric telegraph.

Thus, during those fruitful years (1815-1830) were brought into being the great inventions of railways and steamers which have transformed the commerce of the world. This immense advance had no direct connection with politics; but they who brought it to pass thereby increased confidence in the might of human genius. They accustomed men's minds to severe methods of scientific investigation. They showed what are the necessary conditions of truth. Thereby they contributed, some of them unconsciously, to the development in modern civilization of that reasoning spirit which was a main force of liberal opinion.

Formation in France of a Legal Opposition.—In the Chamber men of talent or authority, like Chateaubriand, Royer-Collard, De Broglie, Pasquier, De Barante, Molé, and Benjamin Constant served the cause of public liberty. Serious journals, like the *Globe*, the *Censeur*, the *Débats*, the *Constitutionnel*, and the *Courier Français*, founded a new power in the state, that of the press, and defended it before the public, while higher education popularized it in the schools. The French Academy itself protested against the proposed law which aimed at suppressing the freedom of periodicals.

In short, ten years of peace had afforded commerce and manufactures an opportunity to expand. The public finances were economically administered and the country was rapidly

replacing the capital which had been destroyed by war, invasion and indemnities. But amidst the general prosperity there were manifestations of that nervous impatience to which France is subject after a prolonged calm has made her forget the ruins caused by the great commotions which appall her, and which down to the present day seem congenial to her strange national temperament.

Even social questions began to be agitated. As philosophy and religion, those two ancient teachers of the human race, had no new lessons to impart to the fresh life upon which the world was entering through manufactures and politics, dreamers attempted to take their place. The Count de Saint Simon issued his *New Christianity*, in which he formulated the famous principle: "To each man according to his capacity; to each capacity according to its works." This doctrine was not calculated to please the favorites of birth and fortune. Many extravagances were destined to spring from the little church which the Saint Simonians tried to found. The teachings of their master, of Robert Owen in England, and of Fourier in France, gave birth to dangerous utopias which, after covertly working their way beneath official society, broke out in the frightful civil wars of 1848 and 1871, and went on in the workshop after the tumult had ceased in the street. Some ideas of those dangerous theorists would have made humanity retrograde, since they wished to render the state the absolute master in even industrial and private life. Still they turned men's attention to new problems, which a sentiment of equity commands us to study even if the wisdom of the legislator cannot solve them. Already men were to be found who, quarrelling with society as a whole, with its laws and its religion, undertook to overturn everything. As yet they were only solitary dreamers. Later on sinister figures will appear with violent passions and monstrous appetites. At that moment the extravagance of some of their doctrines excited laughter rather than uneasiness in the crowded ranks, where to demand from the government a more liberal policy seemed sufficient.

The country was with the Liberals. After May 5, 1821, Bonapartism, placing little confidence in the son of Napoleon, then a half prisoner in Vienna, and not yet sure of his nephew, Prince Louis, existed rather as a memory than a hope. In the influential class the Republic found but few

advocates. Socialism was rather a doctrine than a party. Thus the real masters of the situation were the Liberals, who were ready to rally round the dynasty if it broke with the Congregation and with the men of 1815. On their side were the merchants, who do not love the privileged by birth; the burgher class, which rails as soon as it ceases to fear; the persecuted opponents of the Congregation, and all those people who in the cities are hostile to any government, and in the rural districts are afraid of seeing tithes and feudal rights restored. The great cities were in opposition, and Paris most of all. At a review of the national guard in April, 1827, the cry, "Down with the ministers," rang through the ranks. That very evening the national guard was disbanded. Under the circumstances this measure was necessary, but it estranged the burgher class from the court. To overcome the opposition of the upper Chamber seventy-six peers were created at once. But a general election was imprudently provoked which sent to the Chamber a Liberal majority. The Conservative ministry fell from office (December, 1827).

A few years earlier the various elements of opposition had agitated only by secret societies and plots, resulting in riots and assassinations which injured the cause of liberty. But now in gradually enlightened public opinion a far more formidable foe to the ancient system of government had arisen. A great Liberal party, organizing and disciplining itself, introduced legal opposition at the very heart of the government into the two Chambers, and thence it was to force an entrance into the ministry. Thus, with definite ideas men were marching openly to their goal without either rash deeds or violence, accepting the royalty of the Bourbons, but requiring of them "to make the Charter a truth." The accession of Monsieur de Martignac to the presidency of the Council seemed a reason for believing that France would escape disasters by necessary reforms at the proper time. His ministry abolished censorship of the press and sought to prevent the electoral frauds which preceding ministries had favored. It asserted the liberty of conscience, which had formerly been menaced, reopened at the Sorbonne the courses of lectures which the Congregation had closed, and placed under one common system the educational establishments controlled by ecclesiastics. This was only a beginning. Nevertheless it was easy to infer

that the country was again returning to the era of pacific progress, from which the assassination of the Duke de Berri and a reactionary ministry had caused it to depart.

The general condition of the world, which must always be taken into account in any endeavor to discover resistless movements of public opinion, confirmed this hope, for the ancient system was everywhere on the retreat.

Huskisson and Canning in England (1822). New Foreign Policy. Principle of Non-Intervention. — Beginning with 1822 the Tories, or rather the Tory policy, had lost the direction of English affairs. The most influential minister, George Canning, the pupil of William Pitt, had just gone over to the Whigs. England, irritated by the arrogant interference of the northern courts in every continental matter, was beginning to restrain her former allies by favoring the ideas which they combated. In 1823 Canning caused the presidency of the Board of Trade to be given to Huskisson, whose customs reforms opened great breaches in that tariff fortress, behind which the aristocracy sheltered their privileges and fortunes. This economical revolution was dictated by the liberal spirit, and because of its consequences was far more serious than many a political revolution. It was destined, step by step, to control all the industrial world; to give work to the poor, comfort to many, and the habit and necessity of individual and untrammelled action to all.

Ireland was a prey to frightful misery, the result of atrocious legislation. "The wigwam of the Indian in the New World," said one deputy, "is more habitable than the hut of the poor Irishman. I have seen the peasants of Kerry offer to work for twopence a day." This state of things could not change until the day when the representatives of that unhappy country were able to plead her cause in Parliament. But the Roman Catholic Irish were smitten with political disability. The lords rejected the bill in their behalf which the Commons had accepted. But two years after Canning's last speech in their favor, Robert Peel was himself compelled to propose and pass the Catholic Relief Bill (1829). In 1817 Parliament, at the pious instigation of Wilberforce, had voted for the abolition of the slave-trade. Men now desired that, like the Convention, it should decree the emancipation of the slaves. Canning rejected immediate emancipation, but proposed

such amelioration as made the slave a man and opened to him the door of liberty. That humane law of 1825 led a few years later to the suppression of slavery (1833).

Thus the English Parliament allowed itself to be affected by generous ideas. Still, that great body rightly was not regarded as sufficiently liberal. The aristocracy held the House of Lords by the hereditary rights of its older sons. It held the House of Commons by its younger sons and its dependents, seats for whom it obtained by means of rotten boroughs. Twelve families controlled 100 seats at Westminster, and sometimes sold them for cash. One village of seven houses sent two members to the House. Gatton and Old Sarum belonged to one landed proprietor, who elected the representative himself, while the great city of Manchester possessed neither elector nor deputy. The powerful Birmingham Union was formed to rouse the country on the double question of parliamentary reform and abolition of the corn laws, so as to secure cheaper bread. Of these two reforms, the one was effected in 1832, but the other had to wait until 1846. Thus under the influence of the new spirit old England was being transformed, without disturbance and through free discussion. The prosperity of the country gained thereby. As early as 1824 Canning was able to diminish the taxes \$10,000,000, create a sinking-fund for the public debt, and reduce the customs-duties on rum, coal, silks and woollens. These measures favored manufactures, commerce and the rising public credit.

Foreign policy was assuming the same character. In 1821 England had resigned herself to the intervention of Austria in Italian affairs; but in 1823, at the Congress of Verona, she was already opposing the French expedition against the constitutional party of Madrid, although still showing the latter nothing but barren sympathy. The irritation against the Holy Alliance was on the increase; so when the allies, in order to include the New World in their sphere of action, had the French ambassador, M. de Polignac, propose to Canning that they should discuss the means of putting down the rebellion of the Spanish colonies, the minister replied: "If any power assists Spain to recover her transmarine provinces, England will take measures to protect her own interests." To her it was not a question of sentiment, and we must not consider her policy more generous than it was. Nor did France intend to close the

immense market which was opened to her by the independence and free trade of the Spanish colonies.

However, the policy of the future gained by the definite and even threatening affirmation of the principle of non-intervention. Without ranging herself on the side of democracy, England meant that governments should be left to extricate themselves as best they could from the difficulties which their own violation of national ideas and interests might bring upon them.

Independence of the Spanish Colonies (1824). Constitutional Empire of Brazil (1822). Liberal Revolution in Portugal (1826).—Spain had subjected her transatlantic provinces to a system which inevitably brought about revolt. All manufactures, all foreign commerce, and many branches of agriculture, including cultivation of the vine, had been forbidden the colonists. They were bound to obtain from their mountains the gold and silver which the galleons bore away to Spain, and to receive from the mother country all manufactured articles, including even iron and building timber. In short, Spanish America was a farm worked to the uttermost by its proprietor, the government of Madrid. Inhuman penalties upheld this unnatural state of affairs. The smuggler was punished with death, and the Inquisition placed its religious authority and its tribunals at the service of this strange economical despotism. Insurrection broke out in Mexico in 1810, when the French invasion of Spain prevented the mother country from supporting its viceroys. The revolt spread from one province to another. In 1816 the countries composing the viceroyalty of La Plata proclaimed their independence. In the following year Chili followed this example. Toward 1821 Peru, Colombia, Central America and Mexico became free; and the Spaniards retained only a few points in the New World, together with the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico. As no one foresaw the unhappy dissensions into which these young republics were to fall, this defeat of absolutism in the New World reacted upon public opinion in the Old and the liberal cause was strengthened thereby. One of the heroes of independence, Bolivar the Liberator, was almost as popular in Paris as in Caracas.

The Congress of Washington speedily recognized the new states. In 1822 England was disposed to do the same, although an Act of Parliament in 1819 had forbidden Eng-

lish subjects to furnish munitions of war to the insurgents. The French expedition beyond the Pyrenees decided her, toward the end of 1824, to send diplomatic agents to Spanish America and to ask commercial treaties from the new states. In order to justify his new policy, Canning addressed to the European Powers a circular note in which he repudiated the doctrine of Pilnitz, still the basis of the Holy Alliance. He tried to eliminate from the wars against France their original character, which was that of two hostile principles in hand-to-hand conflict. He set forth only the character they had assumed later on as a struggle for the independence of the states. He claimed that the coalition was formed against imperial ambition and not, out of respect for legitimacy, against the government actually established in France. And he recalled with cruel malice that in 1814, even after having deposed Napoleon from the throne, the allies had thought of bestowing the conquered crown upon another than a Bourbon.

In 1826 and 1827 England made a fresh application of these doctrines, but this time on the European continent, and consequently nearer to inflammable materials.

Imperial France, without designing it, had given liberty to Spanish and Portuguese America by overturning at Madrid and Lisbon the two governments which held their colonies in such strict dependence. Brazil was still subject to the unnatural severity of the old colonial system when the house of Braganza, driven from the banks of the Tagus by the army of Junot (1808), took refuge there. The king, whom his colony sheltered and saved, was obliged to remove the ancient prohibitions and inaugurate a liberal system which, under the form of royalty (1815) and then of a constitutional empire (1822), guaranteed to those immense provinces internal peace and growing prosperity. The mother country was unwilling, after the fall of Napoleon and the return of her former king, to be left behind. John VI was obliged, in 1820, to grant Portugal a constitution which the intrigues of his second son, Dom Miguel, and the defeat of the Spanish Liberals (1823) caused to be torn up.

At the death of John VI (1826), Dom Pedro, the eldest son of that prince, the ex-emperor of Brazil and legitimate heir of the Portuguese throne, again abdicated that crown in favor of his daughter Doña Maria. But first he granted a new constitution. The absolutists on the banks of the

Tagus and of the Douro, supported by those of Spain, rejected both the Charter and the child-queen. Portugal was both a farm and a market for Great Britain. Many Englishmen possessed vast territories there. Its wines went to London and its manufactured goods came from England. An absolutist victory at Lisbon appeared to Canning as a defeat for English influence and English interests. He promised assistance to the Portuguese regency. On December 11, 1826, he announced to Parliament the measures which had been taken to that end. His speech made a great sensation, because for the first time since 1815 a great power stated in public, and with truth, the moral condition of Europe. Canning recalled the fact that when France had crossed the Pyrenees to restore to Ferdinand VII the powers of which his subjects had deprived him, England, without an army, without foolish expenditure, had wrested a hemisphere from this restored monarch; that, in a word, she had with one stroke of the pen re-established the balance of the Old World by giving existence to the New. His country was not ignorant, he said, how many hearts and energetic arms, in their desire for what is best, were stretched out toward it. This force was that of a giant. The duty of England was to make the champions of exaggerated sentiments feel that their interest lay in not making such an empire their enemy. England in the conflict of opinions which agitated the world was in the position of the master of winds. She held in her hands the leathern bottles of Æolus. With a single word she could let loose the hurricane upon the world. These threats were directly levelled at the Holy Alliance. They disturbed Prince Metternich, who accused the English minister of wishing "to unchain the Revolution once more," but in every country they rejoiced the heart of the Liberals. A medal, struck in France in honor of Canning, bore on one side these words, "Civil and Religious Liberty in all the Universe"; and on the other side, "In the name of the nations, the French to George Canning."

The motto told the truth. It certainly was for two great things, civil liberty and religious liberty, or the rights of the citizen and the rights of conscience, that mankind had engaged in the great combat; and our fathers were right to wage it.

The intervention of England in Portugal, "authorized

by former treaties," was nevertheless far less striking than the eloquence of her minister. The enterprises of Dom Miguel, arrested for a time, had free course after the premature death of Canning (August 8, 1827), which was speedily followed by the return to power of the Tories. Further on we shall see this question solved by the triumph of a new policy among the western Powers.

Liberation of Greece (1827). — A few days before his death Canning signed the Treaty of London, by which three of the great Powers bound themselves to compel the Sultan to recognize the independence of the Greeks.

The insurrection of that people, long favored by Russia and rendered inevitable by Turkish cruelty, broke out in 1820. The governments condemned it at first. The English government opposed it because that struggle compromised the existence of Turkey, on whose preservation apparently depended the security of its Indian empire. "British liberalism," said Chateaubriand, "wears the liberty cap in Mexico and the turban at Athens." As for the Holy Alliance, it saw in this insurrection nothing but a rebellion. By a strange application of the doctrine of divine right it insisted that the principles of legitimacy ought to protect the throne of the chief of the Osmanlis. "Do not say 'the Greeks,'" Nicholas one day replied to Wellington, who was expressing to him England's sympathy for them. "Do not say 'the Greeks,' but 'the insurgents against the Sublime Porte.' I will no more protect their rebellion than I would wish the Porte to protect sedition among my own subjects" (1826).

A few months later, it is true, this language was contradicted by acts, for public opinion was becoming irresistible in favor of the Hellenes. All liberal Europe espoused a cause heroically maintained for national independence and religion. Sympathy was excited, even among the Conservatives, by that magic name of Greece, by the struggle of Christians against Mussulmans. In France the finger of scorn would have stigmatized any one who did not applaud the exploits of Odysseus, Botsaris, Canaris and Miaoulis, the audacious chieftains who led their palikaris into the thickest ranks of the janissaries and their fire-ships to the heart of the Mussulman squadrons. Poetry came to the succor of the insurgents. Lord Byron devoted to them his fortune and his life. The politicians were forced to

follow the current. Canning easily involved England. Beholding Italy subject to Austrian influence, Spain restored to friendly relations with France, and the East agitated by Russian intrigues or threatened by her arms, England was growing uneasy as the northern Powers thus approached the shores of the Mediterranean whither enormous trade was on the point of returning. She had many formidable vantage points in that sea, in Gibraltar, Malta and the Ionian Isles. But they were fortresses and not provinces. From them she could watch and not control. It was of vital importance to England not to allow the Romanoffs to dominate at Nauplia and Constantinople, as the Hapsburgs were dominating at Naples, Rome and Milan, or the Bourbons at Madrid.

To forestall an armed intervention, which the Russians were already preparing, the British minister tried to settle everything himself by making the two parties accept his mediation. In March, 1826, Sir Stratford Canning, cousin of the prime minister, thought that, merely by the pressure of England, he was on the point of wresting from the Porte and imposing upon the Greeks a pacific solution. He asked the one party to renounce their "grand idea" of replacing the cross of Constantine upon Sancta Sophia and to be content at first with having a small but free country. To the Ottomans he said that the body of the empire would be strengthened by the amputation of a limb in which a germ of death was endangering the whole state. By this double-faced policy England reckoned upon keeping as her friends both the adversaries whom she had reconciled. But the Divan, deceived by the successes of the Egyptian army which had just captured Misolonghi and which held nearly the whole Morea, haughtily rejected these conditions. So the only resource was to reach an understanding with the Tsar for common action, or else see him reap alone the reward of isolated action.

France, the protectress of the Roman Catholics in the Levant, could not hold aloof. Austria, whom every movement terrified, remained inactive, awaiting events and husbanding her strength. Prussia was then too remote to interfere. Thus the three Powers, France, Russia and England, bound themselves by the Treaty of London (July 6, 1827) to put an end to the war of extermination which had been carried into the Peloponnesus by Ibrahim Pasha,

son of the viceroy of Egypt. The three allied squadrons burned the Ottoman fleet in the Bay of Navarino (October 20, 1827). Over this easy success far too much noise was made, and in his speech at the opening of Parliament the king of England deplored its occurrence. As the Sultan did not yet yield the Russians, who had just conquered Persian Armenia, declared war against him (April 26, 1828). Fifteen thousand Frenchmen disembarked in the Morea to aid in settling as quickly as possible this Greek question, so small at the beginning but now able to give rise to the most dreaded complications.

Destruction of the Janissaries (1826). Success of the Russians (1828-1829). — The Ottomans were incapable of resistance. Sultan Mahmoud had just exterminated the janissaries, a lawless militia, which had deposed or strangled several sultans, but had also victoriously carried the green standard from Buda to Bagdad. The corps had been corrupted by many abuses, which it defended by constant rebellions. This soldiery refused to drill or to obey, and Mahmoud mowed them down with grape-shot. Between the sixteenth and the twenty-second of June, 1826, in Constantinople alone 10,000 janissaries were slain by cannon or the bowstring, or burned alive in their barracks. Those in the provinces were hunted down in every direction.

The Sultan had just destroyed the inefficient but only military force of the empire before organizing another. The Russians made rapid progress, capturing Silistria in June, 1829, Erzeroum in July and Adrianople in August. The Turkish Empire seemed crumbling to pieces. Austria, trembling as the Russians approached the gates of Stamboul, joined France and England in imposing peace upon Nicholas. The latter, in spite of a visit to Berlin, could not obtain the effective assistance of Prussia. So, on September 14, 1829, he accepted the Treaty of Adrianople, which compelled restoration of his conquests. Nevertheless it gave him the mouths of the Danube, the right for his fleets to navigate the Black Sea, thus facilitating a direct attack upon Constantinople, and the protectorate over Moldavia, Wallachia and Servia. The first two provinces were to be henceforth governed by hospodars for life and the last by a hereditary prince. This treaty, which saved Turkey, handed over the Danubian principalities to

Russian influence. But the allies hoped that the new Greek state, converted into a monarchy in 1831, would serve them as a basis of operations to counteract the diplomacy of the Tsar in the Eastern peninsula.

Summary. State of the World in 1828. — Without any violent revolution, but in consequence of the persevering efforts of wise men, France with Martignac, England with Canning and Portugal through Dom Pedro, took up again liberal traditions. To them Spain was to be led back by a change in the law of succession. In the New World ten republics were born and the only monarchy which remained there had become constitutional. On the old continent the new Hellenic state, the work of sentiment as much as of politics, had taken its place among the nations on the side of free institutions. In Italy, especially at Milan and Rome, in Germany, Hesse, Baden, Brunswick and Saxony a portentous fermentation announced to unpopular governments that revolutions could only be prevented by reforms. In Belgium and in Poland, under the lead of the clergy, the insurrection of nationalities and of religions was preparing which antagonistic religions and nationalities wished to smother. And lastly, commerce and manufactures, which had been developed in the calm of peace, letters, which were animated by a breath of renewal, and the periodical press, which was becoming a power, all favored the advance of public spirit toward popular independence and individual liberty. Thus, everything warned the governments to keep in that great liberal current which was traversing the world from one pole to the other, from Paris to Lima. Unfortunately there were princes and ministers who tried once more to resist that force which some call Providence or fate, and which to others is the irresistible result of a thousand causes, great or small, by which the common life of a nation and of humanity is determined.

XXXV

NEW AND IMPOTENT EFFORTS OF THE OLD RÉGIME
AGAINST THE LIBERAL SPIRIT

Dom Miguel in Portugal (1828). Don Carlos in Spain (1827). — Absolutism, astonished and uneasy after its reverses, made a supreme effort to regain possession of the countries which had just broken from its control. The signal was given by Vienna which, under the direction of Prince Metternich, was the citadel of reaction. Dom Miguel had taken refuge there and from it kept Portugal in a state of incessant agitation, hoping to dethrone his niece, Doña Maria, then a child of seven. Dom Pedro had believed he could save his daughter's throne by marrying her to Dom Miguel and investing him with the regency. The regent swore fidelity to the Constitution (February 22, 1828), but four months afterwards proclaimed himself king. This perjury and usurpation was supported by the English Tories and seemed successful at first. Despotism terrorized the country. The victims of assassination, execution or banishment were numbered by thousands (1829).

Dom Miguel was the son of a sister of Ferdinand VII. The nephew was as bad as the uncle, and the king of Spain had given bloody pledges to the absolutists. Nevertheless the friend of the Jesuits was deemed too liberal. In 1825 Bessières, an adventurer of French origin, took up arms "to deliver the king held captive by the negroes" or Constitutionals. In 1827 the former soldiers of the Army of the Faith proclaimed his brother, Don Carlos, the leader of the clerical party, as king. This attempt did not succeed: but it was the beginning of an interminable war. Dom Miguel had rebelled two or three times against his father. The representatives of the old régime, the Apostolicals, as they called themselves in Spain, were accordingly as revolutionary as their adversaries of 1820. It will not be surprising to find soon this same contempt for law in the spirit and acts of their friends in France.

The Wellington Ministry (1828). The Diet of Frankfort.—Some time after the death of Canning the Tories returned to power with the Wellington ministry and tried to give a different direction to the policy of Great Britain. Zeal for the cause of Greece immediately slackened. The protection accorded the Portuguese Liberals was withdrawn. Wellington recalled the English corps which had been sent to the Tagus, stopped by main force an expedition of Constitutionals, and recognized Dom Miguel as king (1829). At home the importation of foreign grain was discouraged. The emancipation of the Roman Catholic Irish was opposed although O'Connell, "the great agitator," had already begun to stir the masses with the cry, "Justice for Ireland." Liberal opinion gained strength. In the following year it carried the Irish Bill. Lord John Russell, the Whig leader, succeeded in passing a resolution which made it no longer incumbent on all candidates for offices under the crown to prove that they received the sacrament according to the rites of the Anglican Church. Hitherto all except Episcopalians had been excluded from office. Thus the Tories were obliged to bow before the current which was flowing toward free institutions.

Italy, in the stern grasp of Austria, no longer made any movement, and Germany was becoming equally silent. "Since 1815," wrote a Prussian ambassador, the personal friend of his king, "since 1815 we have lived weighed down with heavy chains. We have beheld all voices stifled, even those of the poets, and we have been reduced to seeking refuge in the sanctuary of science." Nevertheless, reforms in material interests were accomplished. The Zollverein was introduced, which suppressed internal customs-duties.

But in defiance of the independence of the Confederate States, the Diet of Frankfort in 1824 renewed its declaration that it would everywhere uphold royalty. That was saying in effect that for the simplest reforms the Liberals would be obliged to conquer the resistance of their respective sovereigns and of the armies of the entire Confederation, since the latter was self-appointed judge of whatever acts might compromise "the monarchical principle." The law was continued which in 1819 had established rigorous penalties against the press for a period of five years. A commission was further charged with "examining defects

in instruction," so as to subject the rising generation to an education in keeping with the spirit of the Holy Alliance. Lastly, as the debates of the Diet, hitherto public, seemed to disturb men's minds, the assembly decided to hold its deliberations in future only behind closed doors. The federal government hid itself in the shadow like the inquisitors of Venice. Alexander adopted the same measures with regard to the Polish Diet (1825).

The Tsar Nicholas. — In Russia the nation was summed up in one man, the Tsar. The prohibition issued by Alexander against bringing into Russia any books which treated of politics "in a manner hostile to the principles of the Holy Alliance" had been a hindrance to very few readers. But the moral contagion, which cannot be kept out by a line of custom-houses, crossed the frontier, and the new ideas gained a meagre following here and there. Alexander's last moments were darkened by the discovery of a formidable conspiracy which extended even to the army. "What harm have I done them?" he exclaimed sadly. No harm except in seeking to be the intelligence and will of 60,000,000 souls. Even in Russia there were already men who believed that that rôle was ended.

When Alexander died at Taganrog (December, 1825), his brother, the Grand Duke Constantine, voluntarily repeated his renunciation of the crown. Nicholas, a third son of Paul II, was proclaimed Tsar. He was a man of iron, no harder to others than to himself. Convinced that he was a representative of the divine will, he consequently acted with perfect calmness, whether ordering the punishment of an individual, the execution of a people, or a war which was to carry off a million men. The plots formed under Alexander were not abandoned. Some of the conspirators aimed at overthrowing Tsarism by uniting all the Slavic population in one federal republic, like the United States. Others thought to force its surrender by imposing upon it a constitution. They brought over many regiments to their cause. On the day when the garrison of St. Petersburg was to take the oath to the new ruler, the sedition broke out. Before nightfall it was crushed. After a few executions in the provinces, Russia recognized her master in that prince who for a quarter of a century was to Europe the haughty and all-powerful incarnation of autocracy.

The Polignac Ministry (1829). Capture of Algiers. — Thus in Germany, Russia, and the Iberian and Italian peninsulas, the liberal spirit was again repressed. The allies of 1815 seemed to have conquered once more. In Great Britain it was awakening but under the prudent guardianship of the Tories. Hitherto it had been the privilege of France to move the world. To which side would she incline? If she were able to continue her liberal evolution peacefully, the new light would shine abroad without a shock and with a penetrating force well-nigh irresistible.

So long as M. de Martignac remained in the government the Liberals retained their hopes. Unhappily Charles X, docile to the counsels of the Congregation, supported his minister without liking him. After eighteen months his self-control was exhausted. On August 8, 1829, taking advantage of a slight rebuff imprudently inflicted by the Chamber on his ministers in a matter of minor importance, he replaced them by Messieurs De Polignac, De Labourdonnaie, and De Bourmont. The choice of such men by the monarch amounted to a declaration of war against the country. A crisis was inevitable. For ten months the opposition press constantly repeated that the government would end of necessity by a coup d'état, and the deputies declared in their address of reply to the king's speech, that the ministry did not possess their confidence. The Chamber was dissolved, but the 221 signers of the address were re-elected. Royalty, vanquished in the elections, decided to make its own revolution.

The military success of the Algerian expedition encouraged this resolve. Thirty-seven thousand French troops, under the Count de Bourmont, had landed in Africa to avenge an affront to a French consul and had taken possession of the country and city of Algiers. The booty seized defrayed the cost of the expedition. Since that time Algeria has been a possession of France.

The Revolution of 1830. — On the 26th of July ordinances appeared which annulled the liberty of the press, rendered the last elections void and created a new electoral system. This was a coup d'état against public liberty. It overthrew the Charter, on which the return of the Bourbons to the throne of their fathers had been conditioned. The magistrates declared these ordinances illegal. Paris replied to

the provocation of the court by the three days of July 27, 28 and 29, 1830. This time resistance was legitimate, since both the burghers and populace fought those who had infringed the Constitution. Despite the bravery of the royal guard and of the Swiss, Charles X was vanquished. When he offered to withdraw the ordinances and then abdicated in favor of his grandson, the Duke de Bordeaux, he was answered by the watchword of revolutions, "It is too late." He again went into exile. Six thousand men had been slain or wounded. They were victims to the obstinacy of an old man, who, in the words of Royer-Collard, "had set up his government counter to society as if it existed against society, as if to give society the lie and defy it."

France saluted with almost unanimous acclamations this separation from the men and ideas of 1815. In again adopting the flag of 1789, she seemed also to be regaining possession of herself. She seemed to be winning the liberties which the Revolution had promised but had not yet bestowed. Reverentially she was about to divorce religion from politics in order to restore it to the place which it ought never to have quitted, in the temple and the individual conscience.

XXXVI

CONSEQUENCES OF THE REVOLUTION OF JULY IN FRANCE. STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE LIBERAL CONSERVATIVES AND THE REPUBLICANS

(1830-1840)

Character of the Period comprised between 1830 and 1840.

— Under the Restoration only two policies found themselves face to face. These were the policy of the Holy Alliance and that of the liberals. Thus the victory of that period is a summary of the obscure or brilliant, the generous or criminal, struggle between these two principles. After 1830 this conflict continued but was complicated by new interests.

The revolution of July, 1830, which in certain countries assured the victory to liberal ideas, seemed to promise it to others which it incited to insurrection. Meanwhile the half-ruined alliance of 1815 made an effort to maintain itself. If the western Powers, France, England, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain and Portugal, escaped therefrom forever, the central and eastern states, Prussia, Austria and Russia, remained faithful to that alliance. But the principle of free society daily enlarged its scope like a sea which eats away its shores and thrusts its waves always farther inland. Thus gradually spreading it agitated Italy, shook Germany and raised Poland a moment from her bier.

The principal representative of the spirit of reaction in the preceding period had been Prince Metternich, with his calm skill and his cautious and temporizing policy. Now the Emperor Nicholas was its highest expression by his implacable energy and his activity as well as by the grandeur of his plans.

But new questions arise and divert attention from internal anxieties. The immense heritage of the Turkish Empire seemed about opening up, and men asked themselves uneasily who were to be its heirs. Egypt, on the shortest

road to India, was becoming civilized under a barbarian genius and the maritime powers were quarrelling over their influence on the Nile. Central Asia became the battlefield for the rival intrigues of England and Russia. The barriers which shut off the extreme East opened a little and were soon to fall before the commerce of the world. The activity of mankind expanded. From 1789 to 1815 men thought only of France, victorious or vanquished, and forgot Asia, where England was growing strong, and the New World, where the American Republic was noiselessly becoming a giant. Between 1815 and 1830 attention, still centred upon Europe, turned aside for a moment only to behold the birth of the new states of Spanish America. In the third period one must go from pole to pole, would he keep pace with civilization which wishes to complete its possession of the globe by commerce or by war, its two mighty instruments.

King Louis Philippe. — La Fayette said to the people at the city hall, pointing toward the Duke of Orleans, "There is the best of republics." Many thought like La Fayette. The private virtues of the prince, his noble family, his former relations with the leaders of the liberal party, the carefully revived memories of Jemmapes and Valmy, his simple habits and the popular education given to his sons in the public schools—all encouraged the hopes of the people.

The Duke of Orleans, the head of the younger branch of the house of Bourbon, was proclaimed king on August 9, after having sworn to observe the revised charter. The changes then made in the constitutional compact, or during the following months in the existing laws, were unimportant. The heredity of the peerage and the censorship of the press were abolished. The qualification for election was fixed at 500 francs and the qualification to serve as an elector at 200 francs. Thus the political rights of persons of fortune were maintained without specially stipulating those of intelligence. The article was suppressed which recognized the Roman Catholic religion as the state religion, and all the peerages created by Charles X were abolished. But in 1814 Louis XVIII had seemed to grant a charter of his own good will. In 1830 Louis Philippe accepted one which the deputies imposed. Therein lay the whole revolution. Nevertheless the fact must not be for-

gotten that rights, first violated by royalty, had been again violated by the Chamber, since the deputies had disposed of the crown and re-made the Constitution without a mandate from the country. This will prove for the Orleans dynasty an incurable source of weakness. The government, born of a fact and not of a principle, will not enjoy either the force formerly conferred by legitimacy or that which is to-day conferred by the national expression.

The Laffitte Ministry (1830). — The shock caused by the fall of the Restoration had imparted an unexpected strength to the republican party. This party must be taken into account first of all. It was flattered for awhile in the person of two men whom the republicans respected, General La Fayette, who was appointed commander of all the national guard of France, and M. Laffitte, who was called to the ministry (November 2). The popularity of the former was cleverly exploited until after the trial of the ministers of Charles X, and that of the second until the moment when it became necessary to make a plain declaration of sentiments on foreign policy.

France had the distinguished honor of riveting the attention of the world upon herself. At the crash of the throne which crumbled at Paris all the unpopular powers were compromised. We shall soon see that in Switzerland the aristocratic governments fell, and that liberal innovations were introduced into Germany. Italy was quivering with excitement. Spain was preparing a revolution. Belgium was separating from Holland. England herself, troubled and agitated, was on the point of wresting the Reform Bill from the Tories. Peace was more profitable to liberty than war and French ideas re-won the conquests which French arms had lost.

But was France to champion every European insurrection at the risk of inciting a general war and of shedding torrents of blood? The new king did not think so. Belgium had separated from Holland and wished to unite with France. Her advances were discouraged for fear of exciting the jealousy of England. The Spanish refugees wanted to make a revolution in their country. They were arrested on the frontier so that international law should not be violated even against a prince who was a secret enemy. Poland, liberated for a few moments by a heroic effort, appealed to France. Was it possible to save her by arms? As the

Poles themselves said in their national calamity, "God is too high and France is too far." The meagre assistance sent to her did not prevent Warsaw from succumbing. Its fall found a sad echo in the heart of every Frenchman. Italy, bound hand and foot by Austria, strove to break her chains. M. Laffitte wished to aid her. The king refused to follow his advice and called Casimir-Périer to the presidency of the Council.

The Casimir-Périer Ministry (1831).—This policy was esteemed too prudent. Casimir-Périer imparted to it a momentary grandeur by the energy with which he supported this system of moderation. He made two distinct declarations. The first was, that he desired order and legality, and consequently would combat the republicans and legitimists to the death if they employed riots to effect the triumph of their opinions; the second was that he would not plunge France into a universal war and consequently for the sake of peace would make every sacrifice compatible with the honor of the country. This haughty language was supported by deeds. Dom Miguel in Portugal had maltreated two Frenchmen. A fleet forced the defences of the Tagus, which were reputed impassable, and anchored 300 fathoms from the quays of Lisbon. The Portuguese ministers humbly made proper reparation. The Dutch invaded Belgium. Fifty thousand French entered the country and the flag of the Netherlands retreated. The Austrians who had once left the pontifical states returned thither. Casimir-Périer, determined to enforce the principle of non-intervention, sent a flotilla into the Adriatic, and troops landed and seized Ancona. This appearance of the tricolor flag in the centre of Italy was almost equivalent to a declaration of war. Austria did not accept the challenge but withdrew her troops.

At home the President of the Council followed with the same energy the line of conduct which he had marked out for himself. The legitimists were disturbing the western departments. Flying columns stifled the revolt. The workmen of Lyons, excited by their misery but also by agitators, rose, inscribing on their banners this plaintive and sinister motto: "To work and live or to fight and die." After a horrible conflict in the heart of the city they were disarmed and on the surface order seemed to be restored. Grenoble was a scene of blood in its turn. The so-called

plots of Notre Dame and of the Rue des Prouvaires broke out in Paris.

Such was the ministry of Casimir-Périer, an energetic struggle in which his strong will did not recoil at any obstacle for the cause of order. Colleagues, Chambers, the king himself, he dominated over them all. Such a life had exhausted his strength when he was stricken down by cholera (May 16, 1832).

Ministry of October 11, 1832. — Society was profoundly undermined by the partisans of Saint Simon and Fourier, who demanded another social order. These men as yet played the part of pacific apostles only, but the insurrection in Lyons had revealed the masses as an army fully prepared to apply their doctrines. The national guard with energy defended royalty when, after the funeral of General Lamarque, the republicans fought and lost the battle of June 5 and 6 behind the barricades of Saint Méry. This check disconcerted their party for a time. A month later the death of the Duke of Reichstadt, the son of Napoleon, removed a formidable rival from the Orleans dynasty, which at the same time seemed to gain support by the marriage of Princess Louise to the king of the Belgians.

Another claimant also lost an opportunity. The Duchess de Berri had secretly landed on the coast of Provence with the title of regent, and endeavored to kindle civil war in the west in the name of her son, Henry V. But there were no longer either Vendéans or Chouans. The new ideas had penetrated thither almost more than elsewhere. "These people are patriots and republicans," said an officer, charged with fighting them. The country was promptly pacified and the duchess, after wandering from farmhouse to farmhouse, entered Nantes disguised as a peasant woman. Her adventurous freak showed the weakness of the legitimists. To complete their overthrow, M. Thiers, then minister, caused active search to be made for the duchess. She was found and confined at Blaye, where circumstances forced her to acknowledge a secret marriage which rendered all similar attempts in the future impossible.

Success Abroad. — Certain results of the French foreign policy reacted on their domestic policy. Thus the capture by French troops of the citadel of Antwerp, which the Dutch refused to restore to the Belgians, terminated a critical situation which might any moment have brought

on war. Further acquisitions in Africa as well as an expedition to the banks of the Scheldt cast a little glory on the French army.

In the East French diplomacy mediated between the Sultan and his victorious vassal, Mehmet Ali, the pasha of Egypt. The treaty of Kutaieh, which left Syria to Mehmet Ali, strengthened the viceroy of Egypt, the guardian in behalf of Europe of the two chief commercial routes of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf which England wished to seize.

In Portugal Dom Miguel, an absolutist prince, was dethroned and replaced by Doña Maria, who gave her people a constitutional charter (1834). In Spain Ferdinand VII died (1834), excluding from the succession his brother, Don Carlos, who was upheld by the retrograde party. Thus the whole peninsula might escape at the same time from the absolutist party had England and France been ready to combine and prevent another Congress of Laibach or Verona. The treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, signed on April 22, 1834, between the courts of Paris, London, Lisbon and Madrid, did, in fact, promise to the new Spanish and Portuguese governments the support of the two great constitutional countries against the ill-will of the northern courts. An army corps of 50,000 men was formed at the foot of the Pyrenees for the purpose of supporting, in case of need, the young Queen Isabella against the Spanish legitimists, the natural allies of the French legitimists.

Insurrections at Lyons and at Paris (1834). Attempt of Fieschi (1835). — At home the Chambers had at last passed a law organizing primary instruction (1833). In Parliament, on important questions, the ministry was sure of the majority. Though the jury often acquitted persons accused of political crimes, the army was faithful, and the first attempt against the life of the king caused royalty to profit by the horror which such crimes always inspire. "Well! They have fired at me," said the king. "Sire," replied Dupin, "they have fired at themselves."

The insurrections of April, 1834, at Lyons and at Paris, and the dramatic incidents of the trial of 164 republicans before the Court of Peers, led to the imprisonment or flight of nearly all their leaders and the momentary ruin of that party as a militant faction.

Meanwhile the violent had recourse again to assassina-

tion. At the review of July 28, 1835, Fieschi, a returned convict and forger, directed an infernal machine at the king. Eighteen persons were killed and twenty wounded. Among the slain was Marshal Mortier.

This horrible attempt appalled society. The ministry took advantage of the universal indignation to present the Laws of September concerning the Court of Assizes, the jury and the press. They were planned to render punishment for crime more severe and more prompt. They prohibited all discussion as to the principles of the government and curtailed the press.

The Thiers Ministry (1836). — The cause of order, earnestly upheld at home, was now triumphant. M. Thiers, President of the Ministerial Council after February 22, 1836, wished to repeat the foreign policy of Casimir-Périer. The Spanish Carlists were making threatening progress in the peninsula. M. Thiers decided to interfere. England herself requested it. This course indicated closer relations with that power and the intention of defending liberal ideas in Europe. The memory of the unfortunate intervention of 1823 would thus have been gloriously effaced.

The same ministry conceived and prepared another expedition. Desirous of further acquisitions in Algeria, M. Thiers ordered Marshal Clausel to attack Constantine, one of the strongest fortresses in Africa. He also intended to have General Bugeaud enter Spain at the head of 12,000 men. Thus the government, which had put down troubles at home, was about to exercise the activity of France abroad. The timorous king gave his consent to the expedition against Constantine, because cannon-shots fired in Africa, he said, were not heard in Europe; but he would allow no intervention in Spain. M. Thiers, rather than yield, quitted the ministry, where he was replaced by M. Molé as President of the Council.

The Molé Ministry (1836-1839). — The first part of M. Molé's ministry was marked by misfortunes. Marshal Clausel, whose forces were insufficient, failed in the expedition against Constantine. Prince Louis, the nephew of Napoleon, tried to rouse the garrison of Strasburg to revolt. He was arrested and conducted beyond the frontiers. His accomplices were brought before the jury, which discharged them because the principal culprit had been removed from its jurisdiction. This verdict displeased the

court. The ministry proposed a peculiar law which aimed at trying citizens and soldiers by different courts though accused of the same crime. The Chamber rejected it.

These checks were relieved during the following year by some successes. The army at last planted its flag upon the walls of Constantine (1837). To end a long standing quarrel with Mexico an expedition was despatched which took possession of Vera Cruz. Mexico paid a war indemnity. The Prince de Joinville was on the fleet. He displayed the same courage which his brothers had often shown in Africa. The birth of a son to the Duke of Orleans, to whom the king gave the name of Count of Paris, seemed to consolidate the dynasty.

But vigorous attacks upon the ministry were already preparing in the heart of Parliament. M. Molé had just recalled the French troops from Ancona in compliance with the terms of the treaty of 1833. It was asserted that the removal of the tri-colored flag from Ancona was a humiliation to France in Europe and the abandonment of a precious guarantee against Austria. French diplomacy was no more happy in the final regulation of the Dutch-Belgian affair. The Belgians by their revolution had aimed at separating two peoples of different language, religion and interests. But the treaty of the twenty-four articles, accepted by the French ministry, ceded to the king of Holland Belgian populations which had fought against him. Europe would not allow the friendly province of Luxemburg to be annexed to France, which would have covered a vulnerable point in the French frontier.

With a little more regard for the national honor and with a little more confidence in the national strength, it was said that those concessions for peace at any price might have been spared. But the real pretext of these attacks was what was called the insufficiency of the ministry. M. Guizot, the leader of the doctrinaires, who were a small but talented and ambitious party; M. Thiers, the leader of the Left Centre which vigorously condemned personal government; and M. Odilon Barrot, leader of the deputies opposed to the policy, but devoted to the person of the king, formed a coalition with the motto of 1830: "The king reigns, but does not govern." The ministry wished to resign. The king, whose cause was at stake, refused to allow it, and appealed to the country by dissolving the

Chamber. The ministry fought vigorously in the electoral battle, but was vanquished and fell. Jealousies in the distribution of offices caused the coalition to disband the day after its victory. Difficulties over the formation of a new ministry kept Paris in suspense for more than a month. Certain republicans, with more faith in gunshots than in the propaganda of ideas, attempted a revolution. They could not even get up a riot.

Ministry of Marshal Soult (1839). — At last a cabinet was formed under the presidency of Marshal Soult. None of the leaders of the coalition were members of it. Therefore it could be nothing but a Ministry *ad interim*. It did not last ten months.

Meanwhile, the Emir Abd-el Kader in Africa proclaimed the Holy War. Within two months the regular infantry of the Moslem chieftain was crushed at the battle of Chiffa. Still the great concern of this cabinet was not Algiers, but the redoubtable Eastern question, as we shall see later on.

XXXVII

CONSEQUENCES IN EUROPE OF THE REVOLUTION OF
JULY

(1830-1840)

General State of Europe in 1830. — The revolution of July was not the cause of the memorable events which occurred in Europe after the three days of Paris. Everything was ripe in England for the fall of the Tories; in Belgium, Italy and Poland for a national insurrection; in Spain and Portugal and in the bosom of the Germanic Confederation for enforcing the complaints of the constitutionals. The repressive policy, followed by the great states after 1815, had prepared the inflammable materials upon which fell a spark from the conflict at Paris. Then the fire burst out in every direction. At certain points it did its work and cleared the ground for new edifices. At others it was stopped, smothered for the moment. Some of the nations abandoned the system of authority for the contract system. That is, they repudiated the theory of aristocratic or royal rights and adopted that of the rights of the nation. Other peoples, held to the earth by powerful hands, moved restlessly, but were unable to gain their feet.

England. Whig Ministry (1830). The Reform Bill (1831-1832). — The first Parliament which assembled at London after the French Revolution of 1830 overthrew the Tory ministry, despite its illustrious leader, the Duke of Wellington. The Whigs assumed the direction of affairs and introduced a Reform Bill which suppressed fifty-six rotten boroughs, gave representation to the towns which had none, and created a multitude of new electors by lowering the electoral requirement in the towns to a household franchise of ten pounds sterling. Thus the English reform was much more liberal than the French. Thus the number of electors was almost doubled. England alone then had more than 800,000. But we shall see in 1848 the

fate of the Orleans monarchy staked on the question of adding 24,000 electors to a body of voters only a fourth as numerous as the voters in aristocratic England. Yet the population of the latter country was only half that of France. For fourteen months the Lords resisted the Commons, the ministers, the king himself, as well as popular demonstrations which brought together as many as 300,000 persons. They only yielded before the threat of the creation of enough liberal peers to change the majority. The Whigs also made Parliament pass two other liberal measures. The one in 1833 emancipated 600,000 negroes. This cost England 16,500,000 pounds sterling. The other in the following year was the new Poor Law which, while relieving distress, diminished the expenditure. In order to induce the Lords to accept the Reform Bill, Wellington, the Tory leader, had acknowledged sadly that the time was when the upper Chamber could make its sentiments prevail; that England must resign herself to wishing what the Commons wished. The English aristocracy, the strongest and richest in the world, and also the one which, during the past century and a half, had displayed the most political sagacity, announced in plaintive words its abdication as a governing class. The useful function was left it, which it has well fulfilled even to the present hour, of acting as a moderator or restrainer. Such a curb is as necessary in those great organisms called states as in powerful and dangerous machines of industry.

Thus, in the credit column of the revolution of July must be set down its influence upon the English people. This influence was bloodless and useful to both countries. In helping to hurl the Tories from power and elevating the Liberals to their place, France secured friends on the other side of the Channel. King Louis Philippe was able to offset the cold and haughty attitude of the courts of Germany and Russia by the "cordial understanding" with England. Hence the two western Powers, united for many years by a community of ideas and interests, were able to check reactionary ambitions and favor the legitimate aspirations of the peoples.

The first fruit of this alliance was the pacific solution of the Belgian question.

Belgian Revolution (August and September, 1830). — In 1815 the English had had Belgium given to Holland as in-

demnity for the Dutch colonies which they wished to keep. Moreover, they had descried in this combination a means of repressing and keeping watch upon France from the north-east. But Belgium, which had the French language, French laws and the French religion, felt the same repugnance as in the sixteenth century to joining the Batavian provinces. The king of the Netherlands increased this antipathy by quarrels with the Roman Catholic clergy and with the court of Rome. He prohibited French in the schools and law-courts and forbade the students of his kingdom to attend foreign universities. Writers were thrown into prison; journalists were condemned. Such was the irritation of the Belgians in 1829 that innumerable petitions addressed to the two Chambers protested against the abuses of authority perpetrated by the government. Thus, one month after the Paris revolution Brussels took fire. All the towns of Brabant and Flanders followed its example, and the Dutch army was driven back upon the citadel of Antwerp, the only point in the Belgian territory which remained to it.

England had viewed with displeasure this overthrow of the work of 1815. She lived in dread that France would occupy Antwerp and thus hold the mouths of the Scheldt and Meuse. The Speech from the Throne, drawn up by the Tory Ministry, censured the Revolution of Brabant. The broader spirit of the Whigs, aided by the moderation of Louis Philippe, prevented complications. In the conference which assembled at London on November 4, 1830, the northern Powers themselves acknowledged the impossibility of maintaining the union under the same sceptre of two so different populations. It was decided to permit the organization of a Belgian kingdom on the sole condition that the king should not be selected from any one of the five royal houses whose representatives sat in the conference. Thus, when the Congress of Brussels elected the Duke de Nemours, the second son of Louis Philippe, that prince refused for his house an honor which would have imperilled France (February, 1831). A few months later another election called to the throne of Belgium the Prince of Saxe-Coburg, whose sagacity assured the new state an unflagging prosperity through forty years. The conference finished its work by deciding that 50,000 French troops should enter Belgium to repel the aggression of the Dutch. The capture of Antwerp, after operations memorable for the

skill of both the besiegers and the besieged, settled the question from a military point of view. Diplomacy spent more than six years in reaching the point of persuading the two parties to sign the definite treaty in April, 1839. The perpetual neutrality of Belgium was recognized by all the Powers.

Liberal Modifications in the Constitutions of Switzerland (1831), of Denmark (1831) and of Sweden (1840).— In northern countries, whether it be those regions which incline toward the pole or those which, under a less elevated latitude, lie at the foot of Alpine glaciers, passion is less vigorous and action is more restrained. Switzerland in 1815 was compelled to conform to the Holy Alliance. The wealthier classes of Europe and America did not then as now every summer flock to the mountains and spend their money. The principal source of revenue was the wages of Swiss regiments at Rome, Naples, Madrid, in France, and even in the Netherlands. Until 1830 Switzerland was necessarily deferential to the powers of the day. She tolerated the Jesuits in the Valais and at Freiburg. At the demand of foreign ministers she dealt severely with the press and restricted the right of asylum which refugees from every land invoked on her soil. On the news that France was freeing herself from the reactionary policy, nearly all the cantons, by legal means and the pressure of public opinion, demanded more liberal institutions. Austria massed troops in the Vorarlberg and the Tyrol to intimidate the Liberals, but the Diet decreed a levy of 60,000 men and 100,000 took up arms. The sovereigns, menaced by the Belgian revolution and the ever increasing agitation of Italy and Germany, made haste to send assurances of peace. Abandoned to themselves the aristocratic governments of Switzerland crumbled to pieces. The nobles lost their former immunities, and that wise people effected its political evolution without shedding a drop of blood. Only later on were there violent disturbances at Neuchâtel, whose inhabitants rebelled against the king of Prussia, their sovereign, and at Basle, where the burghers insisted upon retaining privileges to the detriment of the rural communes.

Denmark did not experience even these slight disorders. The king, of his own initiative, instituted four provincial assemblies for the Islands, Jutland, Schleswig, and Holstein (1831). Later on he gave a General Diet to the

whole kingdom (1849). Sweden was still more patient. Permeated after 1830 by liberal ideas, she waited until 1840. Then she reconstructed her government by instituting two elective chambers, made the ministers responsible, and abolished the hereditary rights of the nobility, although maintaining the distinction of orders.

Revolutions in Spain (1833) and in Portugal (1834). Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance (1834).—The South, where passions are more ardent, was disturbed by armed insurrections and revolutions. At Madrid Ferdinand VII still satisfied the heart of the absolutists. At first he refused to recognize the new king of France and encouraged by sympathy at least the mad enterprise of the Duchess of Berri. But he exhumed a secret declaration of Charles IV in 1789 which revoked the pragmatic sanction of Philip V. That sanction allowed a daughter to ascend the throne only in default of sons. This declaration was a return to the ancient law of succession, which had formed the greatness of Spain by the union of Aragon and Castile under Isabella the Catholic, and which had bestowed the crown on Charles V. Moreover, the king felt no scruples at dispossessing his brother, Don Carlos, who had twice tried to dethrone him. Maria Christina gave birth to a daughter, Isabella, who, on the death of Ferdinand, became queen in September, 1833; under the guardianship of her mother. The "apostolicals," trampling on national traditions and faithless to their principle of the divine right of kings which had permitted Charles II in 1700 to bequeath his peoples as his own property even to a stranger, took the part of Don Carlos. He prepared to claim the throne sword in hand. In consequence the regent, to save the crown for her daughter, was obliged to seek the support of the constitutionals. Thus a family quarrel was destined to restore the Spanish government to the Liberal party; but a civil war of seven years' duration was unchained upon the peninsula.

Don Carlos first took refuge with Dom Miguel who, aided by Marshal Bourmont, by French legitimists, and the absolutists of Portugal, was defending his usurpation against his brother, Dom Pedro. The latter was upheld by the effectual sympathy of France and England. On July 8, 1832, the constitutionals seized Oporto. In the following year the victories of Saint Vincent and Lisbon put them in

possession of the capital. At last the treaty of the Quadruple Alliance was concluded in April, 1834, with England and France by Dom Pedro and Maria Christina in the name of their daughters, the young Queens Doña Maria and Isabella II. This constrained Dom Miguel to leave the kingdom.

Thus defeated in Portugal, the absolutists understood that they must hold their ground in Spain or their cause would be lost in Western Europe and compromised everywhere. Don Carlos raised the northern provinces to insurrection, and especially the whole Basque country, which was still devoted to its ancient fueros and hostile to centralization at Madrid. The Carlist bands infested all the Pyrenees. Under Gomez and Cabrera they penetrated to the environs of Madrid. Zumalacarregruy even succeeded for a time in substituting the guerilla conflicts, which settle nothing, by war on a great scale, which might end everything. He was mortally wounded in 1835 before Bilbao.

The Carlists had summoned to their aid all those whom the revolution of July had vanquished or menaced. As a matter of course the partisans of Henry V upheld the Spanish pretender. But it was impossible for the northern courts to send him regular forces. The fleets of England and France barred the sea and the Pyrenees were remote from Vienna, Berlin and Moscow. The Tsar looked with wrath upon this struggle which was going on far from his reach. Secret encouragement and subsidies came above all from Naples and St. Petersburg. For their part the western Powers encouraged the formation of English and French legions, which were veritable armies. The French legion numbered 7000 men (1835). Thus the two policies, which divided Europe between them, did not dare to come into direct collision, but fought at a distance, and by intermediaries, on the banks of the Ebro. This was because Austria and Prussia, who felt Italy and Germany quivering beneath them, hesitated to unleash the dogs of war, and because Louis Philippe, despite his alliance with England, did not wish to endanger the general peace by less discreet and indirect intervention.

The struggle was conducted with the horrors usual in Spanish wars, although in the ranks of both parties were many volunteers. Some had joined out of devotion to a cause or to serve a military apprenticeship. Others came

from the curiosity of a tourist or even to give vent to restlessness and love of adventure. Instead of hunting the wolf and the wild boar a man passed a spring or autumn in hunting the Christinos or the Carlists in the mountains. This lasted until 1840 amid sanguinary vicissitudes and political intrigues which overthrew many ministries at Madrid. Espartero, whom the regent pompously created Duke de la Victoria, put an end to the Carlist war and then expelled Maria Christina (October, 1840) and usurped her place as regent. Three years later he was expelled in turn by Narvaez (July, 1843). Under the hand of this rough soldier the Spanish monarchy became almost constitutional though strongly conservative.

Impotent Efforts of the Liberals in Germany and Italy (1831). Defeat of the Polish Insurrection (1831). — Thus, Northern Europe and all the West entered into the movement which began on the fall of Charles X. Other countries would gladly have followed this example, but they found themselves restrained by bonds too strong to be broken. Their princes cherished aversion and wrath, which they did not always control, for what had just taken place in France.

The consequences of the revolution of July did not make themselves felt, at least ostensibly, in the two great German monarchies. Absolute power in Austria and Prussia was protected by a powerful military establishment, by the alliance of the government at both Berlin and Vienna with the state church, by the support of a numerous nobility which took for its motto "God and the king," and by the politic reserve of a burgher class on whom manufactures and commerce had not as yet bestowed fortune, and with it the sense of strength and a legitimate pride. Frederick William III contented himself by relaxing the control of the press and by rendering censorship more mild. These concessions were not dangerous. Moreover, he counterbalanced them by the advantages which resulted for Prussia from the completion of the Zollverein. Thus he turned men's minds aside from burning questions of government and paved the way for the political hegemony of Prussia by her commercial hegemony (May 11, 1833).

Things went on otherwise in the petty states. Brunswick, the two Hesses, Saxony, Hanover, Oldenburg and Bavaria were agitated by movements which dethroned many

princes and obliged others to concede charters and reforms. But, when Russia had "caused order to reign in Warsaw" and when the French government had triumphed over the revolutionary spirit by its victory over both the legitimists and the republicans, the diplomats of Austria and Prussia returned to the stage and again put in action the Diet of Frankfort, a convenient instrument on which they played to perfection. The Diet was still presided over by Austria and was under her influence. In June, 1832, it decreed that the princes required the coöperation of the representative assemblies only for the exercise of certain rights, and that these assemblies could not refuse the means necessary for the execution of the measures which interested the Confederation as a whole. A commission was appointed to watch over the deliberations of the Chambers, as commissions had already been appointed to keep an eye upon the press and education. Of these three suspects Prince Metternich never lost sight. Another regulation ordered the princes to lend each other mutual aid and to surrender to each other political prisoners. A few months later (August, 1833) the two great Powers, who distrusted the activity of the Diet and the energy of its commissioners, had themselves authorized to constitute a commission whose task was to put a stop to revolutionary attempts. In this commission they admitted the representatives of Bavaria, so as to disguise the sort of abdication which the Diet had just made into their hands. Arrests and proscriptions began again all over Germany. The Tsar, who had come to Münchengrätz in Bohemia for the purpose of personally strengthening the sovereigns of Prussia and Austria in their ideas of resistance, obtained from them the expulsion of the Polish refugees who were to be transported to America.

One can realize how much liberty remained to the thirty-nine states whose independence had been recognized by the Congress of Vienna. From her hatred of liberal institutions Austria was constantly inciting the Diet to encroach upon the sovereignty of the princes. Thus, little by little, the Confederation became a motley body which lacked only a head. Austria was firmly convinced that she was destined to become that head. But on the day when the stage curtain of Frankfort was torn away, it was Prussia which was to appear, victorious and menacing with her motto, "Might makes right." Prince Metternich was to learn too late that

he had toiled for half a century only to aid Austria's rival and to enable her without scruple to dethrone kings and humiliate kings and effect the unity of Germany against Austria quite as much as against France.

In Italy the king of Naples, Ferdinand II, reassured by the paid fidelity of his Swiss regiments, waited for an insurrection which every one foresaw. Louis Philippe, his brother-in-law, sent him a memorandum of General Pepe, indicating the reforms which must be made in order to avert a catastrophe. He read it, returned thanks, and replied, like Cæsar, "They will not dare." He was right so far as Naples was concerned, at least during his lifetime. But on February 4, 1831, Bologna rose, then Umbria and the Romagna, and at the end of a month the Pope retained hardly more than the Roman Campagna. The brothers, Charles and Louis Napoleon, offered their aid to the leaders of the insurrection, in which the former lost his life. Parma and Modena also expelled their princes. The Austrians seized upon this pretext to cross the Po, reëstablish the fugitives, and crush the movement in the Romagna.

The Italian patriots had counted upon France. The French government announced to the Powers that its foreign policy would be regulated by the principle of non-intervention; but it had no idea of going to war for the purpose of forcing this principle into European law. So the Austrians were left free to overwhelm the inhabitants of the Romagna and to violate the conventions which they had signed. Only when they seemed to be establishing themselves permanently in Ferrara and Bologna Louis Philippe occupied Ancona for seven years. This action possessed a certain grandeur and exercised due influence. Following the example of the king of Naples, the Pope hired a small army of mercenaries. The States of the Church presented the singular spectacle of the sovereign pontiff living under the protection of foreign bayonets; for the Swiss were at Rome, the French at Ancona and the Austrians at Bologna. In the midst of these trans-Alpine troops the cardinals and legates administered affairs and judged and condemned to exile, to prison and the galleys just as under the paternal absolutist governments. But the five great Powers recognized the fact that the spirit of revolt was being nursed in a manner dangerous to the repose of Europe by such a detestable administration. At the

invitation of France they drew up the memorandum of May, 1831, in which they begged the Holy Father to grant certain civil rights to laymen and to introduce certain reforms. Cardinal Bernetti promised "a new era," but, the danger once past, everything went on as before. From one end of the peninsula to the other, except in Tuscany and Piedmont, the rigors of 1816 and of 1821 appeared again. Military commissions were formed, severe measures were taken against the universities, foreign books were prohibited, men were condemned to the galleys for a word, for a thought. After a riot at Syracuse, Ferdinand II ordered fifty-two persons to be shot. Never were rulers and ministers blinder to the dangers with which an unseasonable policy is attended. They did not perceive that by repressing the legitimate aspirations of the constitutionals they were forming republicans. Mazzini was replacing Pepe and Santa Rosa.

In Eastern Europe a most formidable insurrection began. Poland rose as one man, set up a regular government, organized a powerful army, made war on a great scale and for a time held in check all the forces of the Russian Empire. Here again as in Italy, men desired political freedom, but national independence above all. The movement broke out on November 29, 1830. Through excess of prudence, after an excess of rashness, no attempt was made to propagate the insurrection in the Polish provinces outside the eight palatinates that formed the kingdom as constituted by the Congress of Vienna. The partitioners of 1773 were of one mind in upholding their work. While 100,000 Russians marched on Warsaw, 60,000 Prussians in the Duchy of Posen and as many Austrians in Galicia guarded against the revolutionary contagion the share of Polish spoils which had fallen to them. Moreover, the two governments of Vienna and Berlin agreed to intercept all communication of the insurgents with Europe and to unite their forces with those of Russia if the revolt invaded their provinces. Prussia did even more. After the sanguinary battles of Wawre and Grochow in February, 1831, and of Dembe and Ostrolenka in March and May, Marshal Paskevitch changed his plan of forcing Warsaw from the front and resolved to attack the city by the right bank of the Vistula. This bold and dangerous march would separate him from his base. Frederick William III opened to him

Königsberg and Dantzic, so that he might be able to re-victual his army. This was direct coöperation in the war and a violation of the principle of non-intervention professed by the western Powers. Nevertheless they raised no serious objection, although the Polish cause was very popular in France and England. In those two countries committees were formed which sent to Poland money, volunteers and arms. But at Paris, as at London, the governments were fully resolved not to intermeddle in a quarrel which lay outside the sphere of their military action.

King Louis Philippe negotiated, so as to have the air of doing something. The British Cabinet, which also held hostile nations, like Ireland and India, in harsh dependency, declared that the rights of the Tsar were indisputable. Abandoned to their own resources, the Poles were doomed to succumb. Warsaw fell on September 8, 1831, after a heroic resistance. Nicholas, erasing from the treaties of 1815 the articles which conceded to Poland an independent existence with national institutions, converted her territory into Russian provinces. The patriots were exiled and suspected persons were stripped of their possessions. Russian became the official language. Roman Catholicism was the religion of the land. It was deprived of a number of churches which were bestowed upon the Orthodox Greek faith. While all Roman Catholic propaganda was prohibited, religious apostasy as well as political desertion was encouraged. Nicholas would have liked to suppress even the history of Poland. At all events he blotted out her name. In official documents Poland is now called the governments of the Vistula.

XXXVIII

THE THREE EASTERN QUESTIONS

(1832-1848)

Interests of the European Powers in Asia. — The Eastern Question is threefold rather than single or double. The first form is discussed on the shores of the Bosphorus, and the second in the centre of Asia. In both the antagonists are Russia and England. It is of prime necessity to the latter to control every route which leads to her Indian Empire. Therefore she desires the maintenance of those states in Western Asia which Russia menaces by her arms or her diplomacy. The third form of the Eastern Question concerns the eastern portions of the Asiatic continent, including China and Japan. It interests Russia and Great Britain primarily, but in less degree the United States and all maritime nations. Such questions require many years to settle. Although puzzled over so long by the world, they are still only in their preliminary stages.

This portion of modern history does not present the spectacle, which we have just considered in the West, of two societies in the name of different ideas striving with each other for universal acceptance. In place of a war of two abstract principles, we shall behold a hand-to-hand conflict of mercantile interests and territorial expansion. The two Powers which play the principal part in these events seek mainly the acquisition of provinces or guineas. Moral considerations are constantly lost from sight. Thus British cannon force the Chinese government to allow the introduction of opium from British India, so that the deficit of the East India Company may be made good. But man often accomplishes a better work than he designs. After the violent deeds of Lord Clive and Warren Hastings and the aggressive wars and cruel sentences of the Tsars, India is being covered with a network of railroads, and the Siberian waste dotted with commercial cities. Security and social

life are transforming the steppes of the nomads which they never visited before.

The First Eastern Question. Constantinople. — The Tsar Nicholas cherished vast designs. His states already covered half of Europe and a third of Asia. But Russia had no outlet of the south, and her ports on the Baltic were frozen up a large portion of the year. Only by the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles could she reach the Mediterranean, and they were closed against her. "Constantinople is the key of the Russian house." It dominates Greece, Western Asia, and the passages to the Indies by the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Between the Russians and most of the Christian subjects of the Sultan there was strong religious affinity, as both were members of the Orthodox or Greek Church. In 1829 the troops of Nicholas had captured Adrianople and advanced within a few leagues of the Golden Horn. His eyes were still fixed upon the "second capital of the Roman Empire." Once established in that impregnable position, he could have undertaken the project of Napoleon against the British domination in India.

But, though Austria was in political alliance with the Russians, their ambitious hopes caused her great anxiety. Herself a half-Slav state, she dreaded to have them penetrate the valley of the Danube and wave the flag of pan-Slavism before her populations of the same blood. Moreover, herself a maritime power, their establishment in the sea-ports of the Levant would ruin her commerce. But the Tsar could not reach Constantinople by land without a sort of permit of transit from the Austrians, and the English would bar his path by sea. By securing Galicia and Bukovina as her share of Poland, Austria had occupied the upper valleys of the Pruth and Dniester. Hence the road which the Russian army must follow to the Marmora was a line 400 miles in length, perpendicular to the military roads of Austria, and might be cut at a thousand points, whenever the Sultan should summon that power to his aid and throw open to its armies the valley of the Danube. Certain of finding the Austro-Hungarian forces on this road and the English in the Dardanelles, Nicholas waited for fresh complications and contented himself with imposing on the Sultan his haughty protection.

Decline of Turkey. Power and Ambition of the Viceroy of Egypt. — Turkey was rapidly descending that declivity

which is so difficult for a nation to reascend. In 1774 she had lost the Crimea and the mouth of the Dnieper; in 1772, the left bank of the Dniester; in 1812, Bessarabia as far as the Pruth; in 1829, the mouths of the Danube and a part of Armenia. Thus the bulwarks of the empire had been falling away one after the other. Greece had won her freedom. Montenegro had never been subdued. The Servians, Moldavians and Wallachians under the protection of Russia had formed national governments and owed only a small tribute to the Porte. Although the rebellion of Ali Pasha of Yanina had been put down, the reforms of Sultan Mahmoud for the time being weakened rather than strengthened this state because they roused the indignation of the faithful and of the Oulema. Thus the domination of the Sultan was seriously threatened in Europe. — The four or five million Ottomans, swallowed up in the midst of twelve or fifteen million Christians, seemed destined to retain their supremacy only a short time longer. The intervention of Europe had been required to save them when the treaty of Adrianople was made. They maintained a precarious existence, partially through their ancient habit of command and specially by the quarrels of their subjects, who belonged to different races and had conflicting passions and interests.

While everything was on the decline in the north of the empire, a new power was forming in its southern provinces. Mehmet Ali, a Roumelian adventurer, had taken advantage of the disorganization of Egypt, after the departure of the French, to carve a place for himself and in 1806 to grasp the power. He had crowned this usurpation by throwing into the sea an English corps which had seized Alexandria (1807). Then he had fortified his authority after the Oriental fashion by massacring the Mamelukes whom he had lured into an ambush. The fierce Wahabites, the Protestants of Islam, had captured Mecca, Medina and Damascus. He exterminated them in a war which lasted six years. Thus to Mussulman orthodoxy he restored its holy cities and its sanctuary, and enabled it in safety to make the annual pilgrimage. His conquest of Sennaar, Kordofan and Dongola, in the valley of the upper Nile, restored some pride to that empire which was wasting away everywhere else. After the terrible expedition of his son, Ibrahim, to the Morea, it was believed that he would have crushed the

Greek insurrection had not the European powers interfered at Navarino. In consequence, in the East the viceroy of Egypt was encircled with a double halo as religious restorer and invincible conqueror. In Europe, and especially in France, he was considered a reformer. With the aid of French engineers and officers he created a merchant and a war-fleet, organized an army, which was drilled in European style, constructed various arsenals and workshops, and founded schools. To render these enterprises possible, he had effected such a revolution as was possible only with the fellahs, one of the meekest peoples on earth. They had been trained by sixteen centuries of servitude to endure everything without a murmur. Not only had he as sovereign declared himself sole proprietor of the soil, which in Mussulman countries is in full accordance with the written law, but he had gone still farther and appropriated to himself the monopoly of agriculture and trade. Hence, as sole proprietor, sole producer and sole merchant in all Egypt, he never lacked money for an undertaking or soldiers for his regiments.

Conquest of Syria by Ibrahim Pasha (1832). Treaty of Hunkiar Iskelessi (1833).—In all ages the masters of Egypt have been desirous to possess Syria and the great islands of the eastern Mediterranean. Thus they might obtain building timber, in which Egypt is absolutely lacking, and harbors to supplement Alexandria, which until the creation of Port Saïd by M. De Lesseps was the only port in the Delta. To reward his services in Greece, Crete was added to the provinces of Mehmet Ali. This did not satisfy his ambition, which could only content itself by regenerating or dismembering the empire. For his share he aimed at Syria, whose mountain fastnesses covered the approach to Egypt and overhung the route to India by way of the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf. Under the pretext of pursuing some fellah fugitives and ending a personal quarrel with the pasha of Saint Jean d'Acre, his son, Ibrahim Pasha, in 1831 attacked that stronghold which had resisted General Bonaparte. He captured it and subdued the whole of Syria. The first army sent by the Sultan against him was destroyed in many encounters. A second Ottoman army lost the great battle of Konieh, north of the Taurus, in December, 1832. The road to Constantinople was open, and Ibrahim was hurrying thither. Mahmoud in

terror implored the assistance of Russia. The fleet from Sebastopol immediately entered the Bosphorus, where 15,000 Russians landed while 45,000 crossed the Danube "to save the Sultan." France and England were in consternation at the arrival of the Russians, and persuaded Mahmoud and his vassal to accept the Convention of Koutaiah in May, 1833, which gave over Syria to Mehmet Ali. The Russians withdrew, but by the treaty of Hunkiar Iskelessi, signed in June, 1833, an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded between the Tsar and the Sultan. A single clause, aimed at France and England, stipulated that the Dardanelles should be shut to all foreign war-ships.

The Treaty of Adrianople had closed one act in the momentous drama of the Eastern Question. That of Hunkiar Iskelessi closed another. After having begun the dismemberment of Turkey, the Tsar placed that empire under his protection. Had Europe interposed no obstacle to that protection, it would soon have reduced the Ottoman Empire to a Russian dependency.

The Treaty of London (1840) and the Treaty of the Straits (1841). — Six years passed, during which Sultan Mahmoud made every preparation to overthrow the pasha by whom he had been humbled. In 1839 he thought that his troops were sufficiently disciplined to cope with the Egyptians, and he confided to them the task of regaining the provinces which the Convention of Koutaiah had wrested from him. Ibrahim Pasha at the battle of Nezib again destroyed the Ottoman army. By that victory, for a second time the road to Constantinople lay open. But if he marched upon it, he was sure to find it defended by the Russians. The intervention of Europe brought the victorious Egyptian to a halt.

Sultan Mahmoud died six days before the news of the fatal battle of Nezib reached Constantinople. He was succeeded by his son, Sultan Abd-ul Medjid, who desired peace with his resistless vassal. The Kapoudan Pasha, Achmet, through hatred for the grand vizier, surrendered the entire Ottoman fleet to the viceroy of Egypt in the harbor of Alexandria. The Ottoman Empire, then without ships and soldiers, could be saved from annihilation only by the interference of the great Powers.

England was haunted by the dread of a Russian army in

Constantinople. Nor was she willing that Egypt, which lay upon one route to India and in which French influence was then paramount, should become too strong. Austria and Prussia followed in her wake. Russia, who was not then ready to act alone, preferred to have the feeble Ottomans at Constantinople rather than the energetic and successful viceroy. France only was warmly on his side.

On July 15, 1840, Great Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria signed the Treaty of London. It specified that Mehmet Ali should enjoy the hereditary possession of Egypt and should retain Saint Jean d'Acre during his life, but that within the space of ten days he should evacuate all his other provinces and restore them to Turkey. The four Powers charged themselves with the execution of these terms and also agreed to depose Mehmet Ali in case of his resistance.

The viceroy refused to submit. Thereupon an English squadron bombarded Beyrout, burned the Egyptian fleet, and almost destroyed Saint Jean d'Acre, the base of Egyptian supplies. The contest was too unequal. Mehmet Ali yielded, being guaranteed the possession of Egypt.

France had not even been invited to the congress which drew up the Treaty of London. The tortuous and ignoble policy of Louis Philippe which, while sacrificing much to retain alliance with England, was making overtures to the absolutist Powers, had gained France only isolation and humiliation. The tidings that she had been utterly ignored, while the other states decided the question of the hour, caused intense indignation throughout the country. The timorous government seemed at first to sympathize with the explosion of national sentiment. It commenced fortifying the strongholds, increasing the army and throwing up extensive works around the city of Paris. It seemed threatening to draw the sword, which, however, it did not draw.

The king became alarmed. He abandoned the ministry, which he had followed at first. M. Thiers yielded his place to M. Guizot, and the new head of the Cabinet made haste to offer his hand to the Powers from whom his country had just received an insult. On July 13, 1841, he signed the Convention of the Straits. This was a double success for Lord Palmerston. He could point at the humble return of France to "the European concert" and at Russia under compulsion renouncing the secret clause of the treaty of

Hunkiar Iskelessi, for the new treaty closed both the straits to ships of war. So this third act in the drama, acted around Constantinople, terminated to the advantage of England.

The Second Eastern Question. Central Asia. — The English had taken possession of India, and the Russians of Siberia. Between them there intervened the whole breadth of China, Turkestan, Persia and Afghanistan. The two nations might well imagine that their frontiers would never touch. But during half a century they were drawing ever nearer. To-day they stand almost face to face. To-morrow they may be engaged in a hand-to-hand death struggle.

Progress of the Russians in Asia. — The king of Georgia, a country on the southern slope of the Caucasus, in 1796 implored and obtained the assistance of Catherine II against the Persians. For the purpose of affording him better protection the Russians took possession of Derbent on the Caspian, of Daghestan, and of nearly the whole country as far as the Koura. Gradually the entire kingdom became a Russian province. Later on they seized from the Ottomans the mouth of the Faz (1809), and from the Persians Shirvan (1813), and Armenia south of the Koura as far as its tributary, the Aras (1828). They had reached Mount Ararat. The central barrier of the Caucasus was not yet crossed, but it was flanked, and some day was sure to fall. This occupation of the trans-Caucasian isthmus gave moreover to the Russians an excellent base of operations, either to attack Turkey from the rear and threaten Persia, or to control the Caspian and the Euxine. The Koura emptied into the one sea, and the Faz into the other. The lawless Circassian mountaineers were still unsubdued. A line of fortified posts was drawn year by year more closely around them, and by degrees forced them back into the wild gorges and upon the desolate mountain tops. Nevertheless Schamyl, their hero and prophet, maintained the "holy war" for twenty-five years and wore out successive Russian armies. In 1859 he was surrounded and captured. With him fell the independence of those restless tribes. South of the Caucasus the Tsar then possessed eight provinces, buttressed by the mountains which were occupied by his troops and covered on their flanks by strong fortresses and two great seas. United in one great military government, of which Tiflis is the centre, these provinces

form an impregnable advanced post for the Russian Empire. Thence her armies can take, on the right, the road to Scutari, whose heights command Stamboul, or, on the left, the road to Teheran, the capital of Persia. The merchant marine of Odessa and Taganrog, protected by the fleet of Sebastopol, the new military post, commanded the Black Sea. The Caspian became a Russian lake, for an article of the treaty of Tourmantchai stipulated that the Russians should have full liberty to navigate its waters and that no other nation should maintain armed vessels thereon. Thus steamer-landings, even in Persian waters, might be converted into small forts and mark out the track of future expeditions, either toward the south shore, not far distant from which rises the capital of Persia, or toward the eastern shore in the direction of Khiva and Turkestan. At the same time, Russia was advancing toward the latter countries over the immense steppes of the Kirghiz Kazaks. Stationing a war flotilla on the Sea of Aral and staking out the desert with fortresses, they would be able some day to reach the fertile regions of ancient Bactriana.

Progress of the English in Asia. — While Europe was occupied against republican and imperial France with wars, which England subsidized, England was completing the subjection to herself of the 200,000,000 inhabitants of India. In 1816 Nepaul, in the north of Hindustan, and two years later, the valiant Mahratta tribes in the Deccan, were forced to submit to British control. Each prince received at his court a resident or officer of the Company who exercised supervision. At each capital, to hold the native sovereign in submission, an English garrison was stationed, the pay of which was guaranteed from the revenues of one district in the state. Thus, without any cost to themselves, the English provided themselves with a numerous army, which ruled the Deccan and the valley of the Ganges. In 1824-1826 they made their way into India beyond the Ganges, wrested 200 leagues of sea-coast from the people of Burmah, rendered the kingdom of Assam tributary and seized Singapore and Malacca. Thus the Bay of Bengal was converted into an English sea and the great commercial highway to Indo-China was commanded. In that quarter they were thinking only of their commercial interests. On the northwest they had to take measures for their security.

Underhand Conflict between the English and the Russians in Central Asia. — After the treaty of Tourmantchai (1828), the Russian influence was predominant at Teheran. When the populace of that city, angry at the harsh conditions of peace, massacred the Russian ambassador, his family and all the members of his household, the king of kings hastily sent his grandson to St. Petersburg to make the amplest reparation. The Tsar was merciful. But Feth Ali, the founder of the Khadjar dynasty, who since 1797 had bravely resisted his formidable neighbor, was forced to realize that the glorious days of Nadir Shah, when Ottomans, Mongols and Russians retreated before the Persian armies, were passed and would probably never return.

The two great cities of Herat and Caboul command the communications between Persia and India. The check of General Bonaparte at Saint Jean d'Acres prevented his undertaking a march to the East. After Tilsit, Napoleon proposed to the Tsar Alexander that they should unite in that grand enterprise. For years one of his secret agents traversed Mesopotamia and Persia to prepare the way. Nicholas inherited the plan and at first assigned the chief part in its execution to the Shah, who had become his vassal. Herat was in the hands of an Afghan prince. He urged the Shah to attack him. A first attempt in 1833 failed. A second in 1837 succeeded no better. A third was made the following year. The operations of the siege were conducted by Russian officers. Great Britain watched these movements with a jealous eye. Russian spies were supposed to be travelling over India. Greek and Armenian merchants, settled in Calcutta or Bombay, were suspected of furnishing the court of St. Petersburg with information concerning the army, the finances and all the affairs of the East India Company. The natives themselves were affected by rumors, shrewdly put in circulation, concerning the decline of the power of England and the grandeur of the Muscovite Empire. "You cannot imagine," wrote a governor-general a few years later to the queen's ministers, "what an idea the peoples of India have of the strength of Russia." The Tsar Nicholas hardly made a secret of his purpose some future day to haul down the English flag in India. One of his official organs declared before the Crimean War that, "If an attempt were made to place obstacles in his way in Europe, he would go to Calcutta and

there dictate the terms of peace." Herat was one of the stages of the Russian army on its way to the valley of the Ganges, and consequently it was an advanced post of the Company. The two rivals met under its walls. Before the Persian troops had arrived in sight of the city, the English were inside to direct the defence. Also a squadron had sailed up the Persian Gulf and was making a demonstration against the southern provinces of Persia. The Shah was obliged to call back his forces (1838). This was a check to the Tsar. The following year he tried to indemnify himself by an expedition against Khiva, which his own generals conducted. This city lies on the second highway to India which passes by the Amou Daria and Bokhara. Frightful deserts separate Khiva from the Caspian, and the Russian army corps perished almost to a man.

Before the failure of this expedition, the English had decided to forestall the Russians, or at least to occupy on the other side of the Indus the lofty chain of the Afghan Mountains. By so doing an impregnable bulwark would defend their Indian empire on the west. Early in 1839 the army of Bengal crossed the river, marched through the Bolan Pass, and took possession of Candahar, the fortress of Ghazni, and Caboul. It placed on the throne Shah Soujah, who had been deposed and banished thirty years before. The valiant native tribes, though disconcerted for a time, speedily recovered their courage. When the governor-general tried to curtail the subsidies, at first furnished the chiefs, a general insurrection broke out. Fifteen thousand English soldiers, hemmed in on all sides, perished. Only one man, Dr. Brydon, survived to recross the Indus and tell the story (1842). The East India Company could not rest under the blow of so terrible a disaster. A fresh army entered the country, devastated it frightfully, and then marched away. That catastrophe was a warning to the English not to spread outside of their peninsula, but rather to fortify themselves in it and allow no independent state to exist there which might serve as the rallying point of a revolt or of an invasion. In 1843, by the submission of the emirs of Scinde and Beloochistan, they became masters of the mouth of the Indus. On the upper course of that stream they established the system of residents. Thus was indicated the speedy annexation of the Punjaub or Country of the Five Rivers, a vast region inhabited by

the warlike Sikhs. Six years later the Punjaub was united to the other domains of the Company. The famous valley of Cashmere shared the fate of the kingdom of Lahore on which it depended. This was also one of the gates of India. Not far distant, on the right bank of the Scinde, rises the chain of the Bolan Mountains, whence flows the Amou Daria, which empties into the Russian waters of the Sea of Aral. The English wished to close this gate. Thus before 1848 they had a firm hold of the whole course of the Indus. They were trying to submit Afghanistan to their influence, having failed to place it under their control. Meanwhile they were pushing toward the Pamir plateau, the ancient cradle of the European races and the point where the principal mountain ranges of Asia converge.

The Third Eastern Question. The Pacific Ocean. — The Pacific Ocean, formerly an untravelled sea, is now the meeting-place of all the navies of the world. Upon its shores dwell ancient and industrious nations, which even in our time have closed their gates with jealous care against foreigners, and youthful colonies of Europeans or Americans which have rapidly become flourishing. Toward the northwest are 400,000,000 Chinese producers and purchasers and 40,000,000 more active Japanese. Toward the southwest are the English colonies of Australia, importing goods the value of which is reckoned by hundreds of millions. The Moluccas or Spice Islands lie between. At the southeast of the Asiatic continent is Cochin-China, where France planted her flag in 1860. Still farther west are the 300,000,000 Hindus, among whom civilization creates wants and from whom it demands products. On the eastern shores of the Pacific stretch the Spanish American republics and the United States. Railways, traversing the whole American continent, connect New York, the great port of arrival for European goods, with San Francisco. From the latter port steamers sail regularly for Chinese and Japanese waters, where other steamers arrive twice a month from Marseilles and Southampton. Therefore the Pacific Ocean, upon which open the great markets of the world, has in our day acquired a commercial importance like that of the Mediterranean in ancient and mediæval times. An economical revolution has been here accomplished, almost as great as that which followed the discoveries of Columbus and far more rapid, being the creation of hardly a century.

Isolation of China and Japan. — For a long time foreigners knocked at the doors of China. Roman Catholic missionaries went there to evangelize the people as early as 1581. The Portuguese had preceded them and were followed by the Dutch, and then by France and England. The Jesuits succeeded in obtaining due admission at Peking under the name of literati, and a Russian religious mission was also established. Foreign merchants could only obtain permission to open trading-houses outside the walls of Canton. Such a station Russia had at Kiakhta, where Siberian furs were exchanged for Chinese tea and silk. In vain did England (1793-1806) and Russia (1805) send solemn embassies. The Son of Heaven required the ambassadors to undergo a humiliating ceremony as condition of their reception. Some refused. Others reached Peking only as prisoners. All returned without the commercial treaty which they had been commissioned to obtain. Said the eyewitness of one of the least unsuccessful of these embassies, "We entered Peking as beggars. We remained there as captives. We departed as condemned criminals." The situation became even worse. In 1828 the Roman Catholic missionaries were expelled, despite the religious toleration professed by the government. China remained walled in. Japan, no less tightly closed, tolerated the presence of the Dutch in the harbor of Nagasaki only on condition of their confining themselves to an island in the roadstead, and permitted no other nation to approach its coast.

Opium War (1840-1843). — All the nations, barbarous or civilized, have created for themselves artificial wants and indulgences. Some chew the betel nut, others smoke tobacco, and the Chinese intoxicate themselves with opium, notwithstanding the injurious effects upon the human system. The English found this vice to their financial advantage. They covered Bengal with fields of poppies and, when the Chinese government strictly prohibited the introduction of opium, organized a vast contraband trade. The Middle Kingdom continued to be inundated with the fatal drug, from which the English made a yearly profit of several million dollars. In 1839 the imperial commissioner ordered 20,000 chests of opium, worth about \$18,000,000, to be seized and thrown into the sea. This seizure was legal, and no just claim could be entered against it. But several acts of violence, committed against Englishmen, were grasped

at as a pretext. An expedition sent to Chinese waters occupied the island of Chusan and destroyed the forts which commanded the entrance to the river of Canton. The first convention not being ratified, the English made two campaigns to dictate peace under the walls of Nankin. By the treaty of August, 1842, China opened five ports to foreign commerce, ceded Hong Kong to Great Britain, and promised an indemnity of nearly \$21,000,000. The two governments in their official declarations continued to treat the opium traffic as illicit. Nevertheless smuggling was made easy by the opening of the five ports. During the following year 40,000 chests were introduced. This meant a profit of many millions to the landed proprietors of Bengal.

The Russians meanwhile had been careful not to displease the court of Peking. The Tsar Nicholas had severely prohibited the introduction of opium into China through the Russian frontiers.

France tried to obtain a share in the trade of those regions. In 1844 she sent to China an embassy which signed a commercial treaty and caused the edicts against the Christians to be revoked. Confiscated churches were to be restored and the Roman Catholic missionaries were to enjoy freedom in disseminating their faith wherever they would. Such stipulations were honorable to France. Not only the danger but the distance was relatively greater than in these days of rapid communication. The French government assumed a heavy responsibility in declaring itself the official protector of Catholic missions among the Chinese.

Summary. State of the Three Eastern Questions in 1848.
— In the extreme East the two chief antagonists are hardly aware of each other's presence. There the question is hardly more than at the beginning of its initial stage. In Central Asia both Powers have received disastrous checks at the hands of the fierce natives, and neither has fully retrieved its damaged prestige. The English are fortifying themselves behind the mountains and show no present intention of issuing westward through the Bolan or Khaiber Pass. Russia has not yet resumed her march toward Khiva. At Constantinople they are indeed face to face, but there the contest is diplomatic. It is waged by bringing to bear pressure upon the Porte, by successive and short-lived treaties, and by the search for allies among the other European states. Neither in China, Central Asia,

nor the Ottoman Empire have the two rivals met in arms. Nor are they so keenly conscious of their rivalry as they are to become in the succeeding fifty years. Not yet, not even at Constantinople, does any one of the Three Questions reveal all of its ultimate immense importance.

XXXIX

ANTECEDENTS OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

Character of the Period comprised between 1840 and 1848. Progress of Socialistic Ideas. — The treaty of the Straits marks a sort of halting-point for Europe. During several subsequent years we see hardly any risings or insurrections. The Powers talk of peace, and order reigns in nearly every state. In England the Tories return to power (1841). Prince Metternich continues his "paternal" rule in Austria. The Tsar Nicholas devotes his energies to organizing Russia like an immense barrack, whence can issue against Europe or Asia armies which he believes invincible. Narvaez recasts for Spain a constitution more monarchical than that of 1837.

France, which nearly every year since 1830 had beheld a new Cabinet, no longer has any ministerial changes. M. Guizot, the prime minister, or President of the Council, builds up a conservative party which, convinced that everything is for the best in a social order where it monopolizes the power and honors, believes there is nothing which needs change. A sort of temporary calm is the result. The political agitations of the preceding ten years are followed by the fruitful labors of manufactures and commerce. From one end of Europe to the other nothing is to be heard but the sound of railways in process of construction and of factories which spring up and work with feverish ardor. Financial institutions of all sorts are multiplied. Wealth is accumulated and the Exchange regulates business transactions.

And yet this society with its material interests so prosperous is approaching an abyss, because its leaders in their turn believe in the immobility of the world and forget to ask whether there are not other needs which must be satisfied. While official society was content with the tranquillity which reigned in the street and the activity which showed itself in business, the two already old ideas of na-

tional and individual independence were making converts. A new idea had risen at their side in the realization that the lot of the laboring classes must be improved.

In Poland and Italy the Russian and the Austrian were still odious. In Bohemia and Hungary the new study of national history and literature revived memories of autonomy which had seemed to be long effaced. Germany dreamed of her unity and of the fatherland. Some of her princes talked about it, for the sake of rendering themselves popular. To this idea the king of Bavaria erected a Walhalla, a Pantheon of all German glories. At Berlin the head of the Hohenzollern lauded "the German country."

After the nationalists came the liberals, some of whom asked for the liberties which had been promised and others claimed the enlargement of liberties already obtained. The inhabitants of the Romagna demanded from the papal government, sometimes with threats as in 1843, a regular administration with a code of laws. Each year the Rhenish provinces expressed a strong desire for a constitution. Even in the Prussian provinces of the Vistula and the Oder liberal tendencies were displayed which caused uneasiness at Berlin. Turin printed a journal whose very title was significant, *Il Risorgimento* or the "Resurrection"; and Count Balbo published his *Speranze d'Italie* (1843). The ambitions of the French opposition party were equally modest and even more legitimate.

But in the darkness a still more formidable faction was forming, which twice already has flooded Paris with blood, made illustrious victims, laid palaces in ashes, and which will, perhaps, long continue to be the terror of Europe, unless wisdom and energy provide a remedy.

The Revolution of 1789, accomplished by and for the burgher class, seemed complete wherever royal despotism and the privileges of birth had disappeared. This double conquest, equality in the eye of the law and the free discussion of national interests, satisfied the ambition of the middle class, every man of which was accustomed to be the architect of his own fortune and asked nothing of the state except assurance of public order without interference in private affairs.

The application of steam to manual trades and the invention of hand-machines, which were first seen in France at the Exposition of 1845, led to a revolution in the mode

of manufacture and in the very constitution of labor. Small workshops disappeared and gave way to immense factories, to which the railways brought the inhabitants of the country districts in crowds. In a few years the capitals and the manufacturing or mercantile cities of both hemispheres doubled the number of their inhabitants. In the bosom of these formidable agglomerations of humanity industry was carried to a high degree by the powerful means placed at its disposal, and created great wealth and also great wretchedness.

In order to compete, it was necessary to produce much and to produce cheaply. In other words, longer days were required of the workman, but the wages were so diminished as to prevent provision against sickness or cessation of work. Hence arose hardships which the utopians, some of whom were generous souls, proposed to suppress by causing indigence to disappear, as the two great miseries of times past, domestic slavery and serfdom, had disappeared. But instead of proceeding gradually, they undertook to change everything at a stroke. Their panacea might cause a thousand evils without even healing one, because their remedies ran counter to the very nature of man and of society. A convent can exist with community of goods or a religious or charitable association depend upon the devotion of each member to the good of all. But under such conditions no regular society is constituted. The Phalansteries and the Icaria, attempted in France, Belgium, Brazil and Texas, came to a miserable end. But the ignorant populace were not deaf to formulas like the following: "Property is robbery," "Every man has a right to work, even when there is no work to be done, or money wherewith to pay for it," "Wages shall be equal, however unequal the product," "The individual must disappear in a vast solidarity wherein each man will receive according to his needs and will give according to his ability."

These socialistic reveries, which are absolutely opposed to individual liberty, the most imperious need of our days, were destined to be put into political action through the alliance of certain republicans with the new sectaries. The latter, to give realization to their dreams, desired to make the state interfere in everything. But as the government was in the hands of the burghers, the first essential was to take it away from them. The masses trouble

themselves little about political questions which they do not understand. But, listening eagerly to those who promised them prosperity, they were ready to follow on being told that "social liquidation" could be attained only with a government of their own choice. Thus socialism, born under the Restoration amid apparently harmless humanitarian utopias, gave existence to a numerous party which included all the poor, and which the logicians of '48 strengthened by decreeing universal suffrage.

This movement was not peculiar to France alone. As early as 1817 England had had the Chartists, in 1836 the Workingmen's Association, and three years later disturbances in Wales. In 1844 a central association for the welfare of workingmen was formed in Prussia, and grave troubles agitated Silesia and Bohemia. This was the beginning of that war between wages and capital, between the workingman and the employer, which was to break out with violence.

Of this subterranean ferment official society, as is often the case, saw nothing. At least it troubled itself little about an evil from which the classes, accustomed for many centuries to suffering, were now suffering. Up to the eve of February 24, 1848, it was occupied with entirely different issues, yet a few months later it found itself obliged to wage a four days' battle with 100,000 men from the poorer classes.

France from 1840 to 1846. — The history of France during these years lies far more in the obscure facts just mentioned than in those stirring events of the time which a quarter of a century had sufficed to restore to their true proportions. This was a golden age of orators. Much eloquence was expended and only small things were done. A friend of the government summed up in 1847 this policy of mere words. "What have you done with your power?" he asked the ministers. "Nothing! Nothing! Nothing!"

The national feeling had been profoundly wounded by the events of 1840. M. Guizot as a compensation to French pride caused the sterile rocks of the Marquesas Islands in the Pacific Ocean to be occupied (May, 1842). New Zealand was more valuable. France was on the point of seizing it when England took possession of it first. A French officer planted the flag of France upon the great oceanic island of New Caledonia. The ministry had it torn down. The

states of Honduras and Nicaragua asked for the protection of France. Hayti wished to do the same. This protection was refused and the refusal was apparently inspired by England. Though France acquired the Society Islands, her commercial interests in those regions were not great enough to necessitate an imposing establishment. The acquisition of Mayotte (1843) was a wiser operation, because that islet provided French ships a better haven than the island of Bourbon could afford them and a naval station in the vicinity of Madagascar. At Tahiti an Englishman named Pritchard, at once consul, missionary and apothecary, stirred up the natives against France. The unworthy agent was driven from the island (1844). His complaints were listened to in Parliament, and the French Cabinet demanded from the Chambers an indemnity for the intriguer who had caused the shedding of blood. The official disavowal of Rear-Admiral Dupetit Thouars, who had tried to extend the French establishment in Oceanica, increased the public irritation. This disavowal was regarded as a humiliation before the British government. A more serious concession, made to the English, was the recognition of England's right of search for the suppression of the slave trade. This time the opposition was so vigorous throughout the land that the Chamber forced the minister to repudiate the treaty and to place the French merchant marine by fresh conventions once more under the exclusive protection of the national flag (May, 1845).

The Chamber and public opinion desired the conquest of Algeria to be completed. The ministry had the merit of choosing an energetic and skilful man, General Bugeaud, who was able to inspire the Arabs with both respect and terror. Abd-el Kader was preaching a holy war and by the rapidity of his movements had spread terror through the province of Oran and even to the gates of Algiers. The emir was defeated and his family and flocks were captured. Taking refuge in Morocco he prevailed on the emperor of that country to join his cause. In reply France bombarded Tangiers and Mogador and gained the victory of Isly. The emperor was glad to sign a treaty of peace on easy conditions. France was rich enough, said her minister, to pay for her glory.

The Anglo-French alliance was of no direct advantage to France, but was supposed to assure the general tranquillity.

Louis Philippe sought above all the welfare of his family. Marrying his son, the Duke of Montpensier, to the sister of the Spanish queen, he aroused the resentment of the British, who considered that the king was seeking to render France and his dynasty preponderant in the peninsula. Alarmed at the alienation of England and the general isolation of France, the ministry made advances to Austria, and in order to win her favor sacrificed Switzerland and Italy. Switzerland wished to remodel her constitution and give more authority to the central power. Such a change would have benefited France, whose frontier would be better protected by a strong than by a divided Switzerland. But this reform, urged by the liberals, was opposed by the seven Roman Catholic cantons. M. Guizot went so far as to accept the diplomatic intervention of the foreign Powers, although that might be followed by military intervention. However, the Separatists or Sonderbund, whom he favored, were defeated in a nineteen days' campaign, and the Jesuits were expelled (November, 1847).

On the banks of the Po the Austrians had occupied Ferrara. Pope Pius IX, who was then arousing Italy from her torpor, protested and was not supported. At Milan the Austrian garrison committed outrages in February, 1848. M. Guizot contented himself with negotiations in favor of the victims. Thus France became the ally of an empire which maintained itself only by causing the various peoples which it held in servitude to oppress each other. When the opposition complained, the minister replied by pointing to the national prosperity. Popular instruction was developing, the penal code had been modified and lotteries suppressed. The law of appropriation for public purposes rendered it possible to carry on works of public utility without hindrance from private interests. Industry sprang into life and vigor, commerce extended its domain, the sea-coasts were lined with lighthouses, the public roads were improved, and the construction of a vast network of railways was decided upon. This prosperity, as often happens, gave rise to frantic speculation. The evil was of wide scope. One of the king's ministers was condemned for having sold his signature, and a peer of France for having bought it.

The elections of 1846 were carefully manipulated by the administration and gave it a majority. But among the

deputies chosen were many officials. It became evident that in the very small class of electors, who numbered only 220,000, political feeling hardly existed and that calculation was taking the place of patriotism. Electors sold their votes to deputies. The persons elected sold their support to the ministers. Thus the representative system was vitiated at its source. Hence a ministry, rejected by public opinion, was retained in power by an artificial majority. The President of the Council thought himself strong because he counted upon a Chamber made up according to his will. So he assumed a lofty tone with the parliamentary opposition, the only antagonists whom he consented to notice. He had said at the time of the elections: "All platforms will promise progress; the conservative platform alone will give it." Meanwhile he granted no concessions under the pretext that one must not allow anything to be extorted from him.

England. Free Trade. The Income Tax and the New Colonial System (1841-1849).—Such resistance was very impolitic at a moment when liberal ideas, though repressed by the governments, were everywhere springing up again. The leader of the Tories, Sir Robert Peel, had kept his ministry in office from 1841 to 1846 only by becoming more of a reformer than the Whigs. Snatching from his adversaries their own weapons, the ideas of Huskisson and Canning, he abolished the corn laws, favored free trade, and reëstablished the income tax. In this manner he destroyed what had been looked upon as the corner-stone of aristocratic power. He abolished the Navigation Act, which had served to establish the maritime greatness of his country, but which had already become a piece of warlike machinery fit only for a place among other antiquated machines. Lastly, he made the rich pay in order that the poor might live cheaply.

Centuries had been required for the parliamentary institutions of Great Britain to react upon other governments. But only a short time was necessary for Sir Robert Peel's economical revolution to issue from the island where it had its birth. Enacted in the name of the principles of free trade and applied to the greatest market of the world, it possessed a character of universal expansion. This great act, which presented such a contrast to the trivial anxieties of France, was destined accordingly to exercise a great in-

fluence over the custom-house legislation of the continent. But things are bound together. The triumph of liberty in the realm of economics necessarily paves the way for its victory in the realm of politics.

Already, under the control of these ideas, England had renounced the colonial system which modern Europe had inherited from ancient Rome and which some states still retain. She no longer sought the absolute domination of the mother country over her colonies that they, like docile slaves, might exist only for her, and toil, produce and purchase for her profit. That outworn system had cost North America to the English; South America to the Spanish and the Portuguese; and Canada and Louisiana to the French. To the new system England was led moreover by her own genius. Reserving to the mother country only the appointment of a governor, the colonies were allowed to manage their own affairs by a legislative body elected by themselves. Thus was developed the prosperity of the colonists and that of the mother country. The constitutional liberty granted to Canada was productive of marvellous progress. All the English colonies, with the exception of India and the purely military outposts, found themselves endowed with this fruitful liberty in 1849. Liberty is not only a noble thing, but is also a useful thing. Thus England could abolish some of her taxes, while in the ten years between 1832 and 1842 her commerce nearly doubled. The budget of the continental states showed a deficit, while that of England presented a surplus.

England does not like revolutions. Her government resembles a skilful pilot who always keeps an eye on the horizon to discern the great currents and steer the ship into them. So, since 1832, she escaped political storms by following the impulse of the public mind. Thus between 1822 and 1826 Huskisson's reforms were accomplished. In 1829 came Roman Catholic emancipation. In 1832 electoral reform was decreed. In 1841 the income tax was revised, not indeed as a war measure, but for the purpose of freeing from all imposts bread, beer and the raw materials which feed manufactures. In 1846 the corn laws were suppressed and free trade established. For these reasons England escaped bloodshed and revolution.

Establishment of the Constitutional System in Prussia (1847). — In the time of Voltaire and Montesquieu echoes

from the House of Commons rarely crossed the Channel and reached only a few superior men. Now, thanks to the press, they were heard everywhere and awoke and excited men's minds. In 1845 the states of Silesia, of the grand duchy of Posen and of royal Prussia demanded freedom of the press, publicity of debate and a penal code in accordance with the principles of modern legislation. The king refused everything. To those who asked for a constitution, he replied that he would never allow a sheet of paper to interpose between his people and himself. Two years later he was obliged to convoke a general Diet, although he was willing to recognize in it solely a consultative character. But the Diet claimed the right of receiving the annual account of the administration of the public debt and of deliberating upon all general laws, including taxation. At once it arrogated to itself the superintendence of the finances with legislative power. To guarantee against all surprises it declared in advance that it would recognize in no other assembly or commission, even if sprung from its own ranks, the right of exercising its functions. Thus the constitutional system was set up in Berlin. Only two great states, Austria and Russia, were left to represent unyielding opposition to the new ideas.

Liberal Agitations in Austria and Italy. — Nevertheless the general movement was invading even changeless Austria. In Styria and Carinthia, her oldest duchies, men desired reforms. In Hungary a great constitutional party was already organized. Bohemia also was in a ferment. But, as the country was divided between two hostile populations, the Germans and the Czechs, Prince Metternich was able to rely upon the one to resist the other. In 1847 he deprived the state of Bohemia of the right to vote the taxes.

His policy had just suffered a signal check on the western frontier of the empire, by the prompt defeat of the Sonderbund which he had tried to save. The victory of the Swiss liberals was only one more bad example given to the docile subjects of the Hapsburgs and did not constitute a danger. But on the other side of the Alps a storm was muttering, all the more threatening because this time the tempest came from Rome.

The disastrous attempt of the Bandiera brothers, sons of an Austrian admiral, who tried to stir up the Calabrians

in 1844, and the insurrection of Rimini in 1845, undertaken to obtain the application of the Memorandum of the Great Powers in 1831, had been the last appeals to arms on the part of the Italians. But what the propaganda of gunshots did not succeed in effecting, the propaganda of ideas brought about among that intelligent people. Gioberti, with his book, *Del primato . . . degli Italiani*, in 1843 had won over a part of the clergy to the national cause. Later on he had tried in the *Modern Jesuit* to remove the Pope from the fatal influence of "the degenerate sons of Loyola." Father Ventura, a famous preacher, exclaimed: "If the Church does not march with the age, the nations will not halt, but they will march on without the Church, outside the Church, against the Church." What pontiff would be capable of comprehending that religion must be reconciled with liberty! The Italians believed they had found such a Pope, a reformer for the universal Church and a national ruler for Italy, in Pius IX, elected in June, 1846. At the very beginning he dismissed his Swiss guard, threw open the prisons, recalled the exiles, subjected the clergy to taxation and prepared the way for reform in the civil and criminal laws. He instituted an assembly of notables, chosen by himself, but possessing only a consultative voice. He created a Council of State, restored municipal institutions to Rome, and for the first time published the budget of the papal states. The king of Sardinia and the Grand Duke of Tuscany followed his example. Italy again revived with the double hope of regaining her political liberty and her national independence. On December 5, 1846, fires were kindled from one end of the Apennines to the other. The hundredth anniversary of a defeat of the Austrians before Genoa was being celebrated to the cry of, "Expel the barbarians!" "*Fuori i barbari!*" England, governed after June, 1846, by the Whig ministry of Lord Russell, sent the Mediterranean fleet into Sicilian waters, and Lord Minto, her ambassador, travelled all over Italy urging the princes into constitutional paths. The opposition in the French Chamber cried aloud to the Pope, "Courage, Holy Father! Courage!" But the Cabinet of the Tuileries, while favorable to administrative reforms, discouraged political reforms, so as to keep on good terms with Austria, alliance with whom seemed necessary in consequence of the Spanish marriages.

By joining in the liberal movement Austria might have restrained and guided it; but that Power was still under the fatal influence of the party, which accused "the carbonaro Mastai" of having usurped the Holy See by intrigue, and which even dared to call him, "A Robespierre wearing the tiara." She addressed to the Pope a severe note against his reforms in June, 1847, fomented a conspiracy in Rome itself, and, contrary to all treaties, occupied the city of Ferrara in August. Cardinal Ferretti sent to Vienna an energetic protest, which was backed up by the courts of Turin and Florence, but of which M. Guizot expressed disapprobation. "Father Ventura," said Pius IX, discouraged, "France is deserting us. We are alone!" "No," replied the Theatine monk, "God is with us. Forward!"

And Italy did move forward. At the end of November the Roman Council opened. Leopold II and Charles Albert effected reforms which were equivalent to the promise of a constitution and their ministers signed with the Papal Cabinet an alliance "for the development of Italian industry and the welfare of the peoples" on November 3. The Duke of Modena and the king of the Two Sicilies were invited to adhere to the treaty. This union was a threat against Austria, to which she replied by the military occupation of Parma and Modena in December. The extremities of Italy immediately caught fire.

Three months previously an insurrection at Reggio and Messina and a disturbance in Naples had been severely put down, but promises of reform had been made. On January 12, 1848, as these reforms had not been effected, Palermo took up arms to the cry of, "Long live Pius IX." On the 16th the insurrection had mastered the whole island. On the 18th 10,000 men marched upon Naples demanding, as in 1821, a constitution. On the 28th Ferdinand II yielded; two weeks later a charter, modelled on the French charter of 1830, was promulgated at Naples, and four days afterwards at Florence, and on March 4 at Turin.

The Italian peoples were quivering with excitement, especially in the Lombardo-Venetian territory, where exasperation against the Austrian had seized even the women and children. On January 3 Austrian dragoons put to the sword groups of people in the streets of Milan. Troubles broke out in Pavia and Padua on February 8; on the 15th at Bergamo. On the 22d Marshal Radetzki proclaimed

martial law at Milan, saying to his soldiers, "The guilty efforts of fanaticism and of rebellion will be shattered upon your courage like glass upon a rock."

Almost at the same moment a revolution burst out at Paris which, seventeen days later, found its echo in Vienna. Nothing remained to Austria in Italy at the end of March except the fortresses of the quadrilateral.

The general situation of Europe at the beginning of the year 1848 indicated that the critical hour had come. After a struggle, lasting more than a generation, between the old régime and liberal ideas, the latter felt themselves strong enough to look upon their approaching triumph as sure. But was that victory to be won peaceably, by intelligent and patriotic agreement of the government and the governed, or was a blind resistance to arouse useless riots and even war, and thus open up the way for republican adventures and socialistic violence? The answer depended upon France. If she leaned to the side whither all civilized Europe was proceeding, free institutions would be peaceably established. Prussia and Austria, weakened by internal disorders, would have recoiled before France and England, united in one thought and at need in one action. The old system, like a corpse still erect though long since bereft of life, would have fallen to rise no more. Such was the grand opportunity which the French ministry then held in its hand, and which it threw away.

XL

AMERICA FROM 1815 TO 1848

American Progress. The Monroe Doctrine. Advantages of Liberty. — During all this period the New World furnished little to general history. Spanish America writhed for a long time in periodical convulsions, the fruit of a double despotism under which the political education of the citizens was impossible. Portuguese America was slowly developing her riches and her population, under the protection of a constitutional government. Canada prospered through liberty. The United States, having behind them no past to arrest their movements or excite their violence, and having before them infinite space, were engaged in expending upon nature the forces of an exuberant youth without yet turning those forces against themselves, as in the old states of the European West. Faithful to the institutions with which they had endowed themselves, they tilled the prairies, cleared the forests, and covered the Indians' hunting-grounds with cities to which flocked a population that often doubled itself in twenty years.

Not to be disturbed in this work they had used haughty language toward Europe. After having recognized in 1821 the independence of the Spanish colonies, President Monroe, in 1823, in a message to the Senate, established the principle which has remained the rule of the Cabinet at Washington in its foreign policy. "The American continents . . . are not to be considered as subjects for colonization by European powers. . . . We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. Any such interference would be regarded as the manifestation of an unfriendly spirit to the United States." This declaration was renewed in decided terms when the success of the French invasion of Spain aroused fear of an attempt at restoration in Buenos Ayres, Lima, or Mexico. The Old World, separated from the New by 1500 leagues of sea, dared not accept the challenge.

Nevertheless, although since the war of 1812-1815 against England, the United States had been at peace with Europe, and though the European courts received from Washington nothing but proposals for treaties of commerce or the regulation of unimportant matters, the spectacle of that nation waxing great day by day with the most liberal institutions in the world was contagious to the society of the Old Continent. Every year the latter sent across the ocean many thousands of their poor in quest of land and liberty. Every year, also, there returned engineers, merchants and politicians who had admired on the banks of the Ohio and Mississippi the power of individual energy. The tales which were told concerning the greatness of the American republic encouraged the liberal party and made it desire still more to limit the rights of the state and advance the rights of the citizens.

This young republic lacked, it is true, the elegances and distinction of old societies where aristocracy has left behind something of its refined manners, of its tastes for the arts, of its sentiment of honor which is a sort of personal religion. In haste to live and to enjoy life, the Americans advanced little beyond the useful. But the useful is one of the two necessities of life. The other, the ideal, was sure to come later on with hereditary wealth and leisure. Some day they would no longer be obliged to say, "Time is money." Some day, when their soil was placed under cultivation and their railways and canals were completed, they would devote time to solitary meditation, to pure art, to theoretical science, and in a word to all the glorious but immaterial pursuits which make great peoples.

Reading this history of Europe and of the New World between 1815 and 1848, it would seem as if kings and peoples all had but one idea during those three and thirty years; as if they sought only either to destroy or to save political liberty. Nevertheless men's minds were occupied with art, poetry, science, thought, religion, and a thousand matters besides. Manufactures and commerce were in process of transformation. Useful reforms were made. The general welfare increased. Ignorance and crime were on the decrease. In short, almost everywhere there was security for property and persons. But under absolute government those great and beneficent things which they enjoyed lacked guarantees and could possess them only under constitutional

government. Civil liberty is indispensable for every citizen. Each individual needs it that he may live like a man. Political liberty, on the contrary, would be merely a luxury, necessary to a few but useless to the majority, if, like a faithful guardian of a house, it were not there for the purpose of giving warning when thieves approach and of preventing their entrance. Since its part is to assure the safety of our welfare, we must draw the inference that, the richer and happier societies are, so much the greater is the fruitful development of the active faculties and so much the more indispensable is political liberty. It is the only pledge that their welfare shall endure. For this reason it was, and deserved to be, the object of the great battle which we have sketched so rapidly.

XLI

REVOLUTION OF 1848

The victory of liberal Switzerland and of the constitutional party in Prussia, the agitation of Germany, Hungary and the Austrian duchies, the conduct of Pius IX, and the efforts of Italy to escape from the despotism of her rulers as well as from the grip of the Hapsburgs, had caused an immense sensation in France. In the legislative body the deputies of the Left Centre and of the Dynastic Left, led by MM. Thiers and Odilon Barrot, called upon the ministry to fulfil its promises. They demanded the modification of certain taxes, and electoral and parliamentary reform. The latter had been proposed in vain at each session since 1842. The ministry rejected these harmless demands and ridiculed the opposition for its ineffectual efforts to awake the country from political torpor. To this challenge the opposition replied by seventy banquets in the most important cities. These national complaints found a voice. They deplored the degradation of France, which no longer possessed its legitimate influence in Europe. They showed how the most legitimate reforms had been refused, and denounced the electoral and parliamentary corruption fostered by the government. Their demands were most moderate. They asked only the addition of 25,000 persons to the voters and that government officials should be refused membership in the Chamber.

Paris, by instinct and tradition fond of fault-finding when free from fear, was entirely devoted to the opposition. In the recent municipal elections not a single candidate of the ministry had succeeded in the richest and, consequently, the most essentially moderate quarter. A journal founded by the conservatives was unable to live. Dissatisfaction showed itself in the very heart of that party. Many influential members of the majority passed over to the opposition. Prince de Joinville openly showed his disapproval and went to Algiers in a sort of voluntary exile with his

brother the Duke d'Aumale. Several members of the ministry even were disgusted with an extreme policy. M. de Salvandy, who had undertaken numerous and liberal reforms in the Department of Public Education, retained his place only from the desire to defend certain proposed laws which he had introduced. But the President of the Council began the battle by causing the king in his speech at the opening of the session on December 20, 1848, to declare 100 deputies enemies of the throne.

For the space of six weeks irritating debates kept public opinion in an uproar. The opposition made a final demonstration by appointing a banquet in the twelfth district. The republicans who had long been discouraged let things go on without opposition, but held themselves in readiness. "If the ministry authorizes the banquet," said one of their leaders on February 20, "it will fall. If it prohibits it, there will be a revolution." The Dynastic Left made a last effort to forestall the explosion. On February 21 M. Odilon Barrot laid upon the table of the Chamber an accusation against the ministers.

The latter prevented the banquet. Immediately vast crowds got together and here and there conflicts broke out. But on the evening of February 23 the opposition had won its case. A liberal ministry was appointed under the presidency of M. Thiers. But those who had so well begun the movement had made no preparations for arresting its course at the exact point which the majority of the country desired. Men, able to attack rather than to resist, critics rather than men of action, in a few hours they saw the control of the uprising slip from their hands and pass into those of a party which included professional conspirators and veterans of barricades. The latter were men of combat. They mixed among the masses, with whom the gayly decked and illuminated boulevards were crowded. A shot was fired by an unknown person at the guardhouse of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The troops replied by a discharge which killed fifty innocent promenaders. At the sight of these dead bodies borne into the city, the people of the faubourgs shouted, "They are assassinating our brethren! Vengeance!" and flew to arms. The king could count upon the army, commanded by General Bugeaud. That energetic leader had already taken measures to quell the riot, when, during the night of the 23d, he received

orders from the president of the new ministry to fall back with his troops upon the Tuileries. Rather than obey this senseless order he resigned his command, and the resistance was paralyzed. The national guard had been tardily assembled. They believed that the whole matter would be confined to a change of ministers, and allowed the movement to go on. Revolution followed. Soon they tried to arrest what their inactivity had aided, but it was too late. Even the Order of the National Guard, which dated from July 14, 1789, was morally overthrown on February 24. Abandoned by the burghers of Paris, Louis Philippe thought he was deserted by all France. At noon he abdicated, while fighting was still going on at the Palais Royal. He departed under the protection of several regiments without being either pursued or disturbed.

The Duke of Orleans, whose influence over the army had been great, was dead. The Prince de Joinville and the Duke d'Aumale, who enjoyed a well-earned popularity, were absent. There remained in addition to the Duke de Montpensier, who was still too young to be known, only a woman and a child, the Duchess of Orleans and the Count of Paris. The duchess, respected for her virtues and lofty spirit, but a stranger and alone, had no power. While the populace was entering the Tuileries, she went to the Chamber with the Count of Paris. The insurgents followed her here and caused a provisional government to be proclaimed.

Thus, through the incapacity of the government and the audacity of a faction, instead of legal accomplishment of requisite reforms, the monarchy was overthrown. The successful insurrection was to paralyze labor, waste hundreds of millions of francs and divert the country far from the path of peaceful progress. Two men above all others should have put on mourning for this useless revolution and for the overthrown dynasty. One of the two, the king, might have forestalled the insurrection by taking away its pretext. The other, the minister, might have crushed it by force, but did not dare.

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